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The Pennsylvania-German Society

Volume XXII

Proceedings at

Harrisburg, October 20, 1911

FOR REFERENCE
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H. M. M. Richards

The Pennsylvania-German Society.

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

HARRISBURG, PA., OCTOBER 20, 1911

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JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.
DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.
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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

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Part XXV. The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland, by Daniel Wunderlich Nead.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

AT ITS

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

HELD AT HARRISBURG, PA.

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1911

THE Executive Committee of the society held its regular quarterly meeting in the parlor of the Commonwealth Hotel, Harrisburg, Pa., at seven o'clock, on Thursday evening, October 19, 1911, for the transaction of business.

MORNING SESSION.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society was held in the senate chamber of the new State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pa., Friday, October 20, 1911.

The meeting was called to order at 10:30 by the president of the society, Rev. Henry E. Jacobs, D.D., S.T.D., LL.D., dean of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt.

Airy, Philadelphia, Pa., after which the divine blessing was invoked by Rev. Ellis N. Kremer, D.D., pastor of Salem Reformed Church, Harrisburg, Pa.

In the unavoidable absence of Daniel S. Seitz, Esq., city solicitor of Harrisburg, a representative of his office extended a most cordial welcome to the members of the society and their friends on behalf of the city of Harrisburg and its people. The response to the welcome was made by Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D., chairman of the Executive Committee.

Address of Rev. Henry E. Jacobs, D.D., S.T.D., LL.D., of Philadelphia, Pa., as President of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

Twenty-one years have now passed since the organization of this society. It is no longer an experiment, but has proved its right to existence, by the results which it has achieved. It has not only promoted the acquaintance of members of a common family, who, because of their variety of callings and departments of labor, as well as because of their local separations, would otherwise have been strangers; but it has also left most fruitful memorials of its activity in the papers which it has called forth, and the literature of permanent value, which it has published. That the history of our country should be written, and a proper estimate of its resources be made, we must resort to an analysis of its elements, and consider each successively, before the product attained by their combination can be adequately judged. The scholarly student of American history, without regard to the nativity of his fathers, should gratefully recognize the work which this society has accomplished, as a contribution, following

exhaustive methods within his own department. There are certainly none of us so narrow as not to welcome the preparation and publication of thorough studies concerning the early history of the English Friends or the Scotch-Irish or the Huguenots or the Dutch or the Swedes in America. We ask our neighbors, who are ineligible to membership in our society, to take a similar interest in our work.

This society has been engaged in the laudable undertaking of rescuing an important section of our country's history from oblivion. It has been cultivating a field which previously had been in great measure neglected. We need not charge the lack of recognition of our history that had previously prevailed to any intentional suppression of facts by eminent writers. It was only natural that those, who, from the founding of American Commonwealths, diligently recorded and widely published their annals in the language that has prevailed in this country, should have a hearing, before those whose literature was meager, and the language of whose immigrants was foreign. Colonial history, as known both in elementary text-books and in standard works in our libraries, is confined largely to the events that transpired either in New England or in parts of the South, because there was in these sections a general culture, to give proper literary form to the records of what had transpired, and an historical sense that appreciated their value. There was a time also when history was confined almost entirely to the bare statement of most prominent events, the founding of states, the forms of government, the political issues, the details of wars, and the commemoration of statesmen and generals whose names appear in such recital. To-day, more attention is devoted to the study of the forces of

history. We turn to the close examination of social elements and social conditions, of which the events upon which the old historiographers dwelt are mere incidents. The destinies of nations are determined not on the battlefield, or in the cabinets of rulers, but, by Providential guidance, in the life of the people. At many a crisis, the decisive factors are those which, for the time, are least apparent; just as the success of an army is dependent as much upon the organization of its commissary and quartermasters' departments, the details of which move so smoothly as to be unobserved, as upon the strategy of a campaign and the shock of battle. This society has been vindicating the right of this Commonwealth to the title of the Keystone State by preserving and rendering accessible the records of important elements that have made Pennsylvania what it is in itself, and what it was and still is in the American union. Its rich material resources would have availed little, if there had not been those who had early recognized their possibilities and laboriously developed them.

Loyalty to the past and filial devotion towards ancestors are preëminent characteristics of the people whom we represent. With the opportunity afforded to cherish and transmit to others what our fathers have contributed to the life of the present age, the task upon which we have entered has been one that commends itself wherever these traits are found. All true progress consists in faithfully conserving what the past has given, and in building up solidly upon foundations that predecessors have laid. That immobility is most laudable that is cautious with respect to mere experiments and experimenters. That community is strong that knows and uses well what it already possesses, instead of constantly grasping after

what is new and strange and aspiring after what has not been a part of its divinely given heritage. Our unity and individuality are rooted in the eighteenth century. Nearly related as we are to the people of the great German empire, whose progress has been the chief feature in European history during the last century, we are not Germans, but Americans. The flag which represents the statesmanship of Bismarck and the military genius of Von Moltke, is not that of our fathers or brothers, but that of our remote cousins, of probably the fifth or sixth degree of relationship. Nor are we less American, because of our German origin. We dispute the claim of those who would limit the circle of genuine American citizenship to those of English parentage. Such claims must be repelled as the height of presumption. We are not adopted children of these United States, but are charter members of this government. We were here for generations before the Declaration of Independence. The entrance of our fathers into this land belongs as truly to colonial history as the settlement at Jamestown or the landing at Plymouth Rock. They conquered its native wildness, they felled its forests, they built its roads, they bridged its streams, they broke its ground and made its most desolate places yield abundant harvests. They founded prosperous towns and cities. They stood as a wall on the frontier against the Indians, and formed an immovable wedge, right in the center of the Atlantic coast, fixed as iron in the cause of American independence, while a large proportion of their Pennsylvania fellow citizens of English origin were either loyal to the crown or unable to take sides. The blood of our fathers was shed on many a battle-field of the Revolutionary War. They languished in the horrible prison-ships in New York harbor. Under Peter Muhlenberg, they

covered the retreat at Germantown and on Long Island, or rushed forward with him in the final charge at Yorktown. They prominently participated in the formation of the Constitution of this Commonwealth and its successive revisions. They determined the acceptance by Pennsylvania of the Federal Constitution, one of their number being the president of the convention which ratified it, and afterwards presiding as speaker over the First and Third United States House of Representatives. If there be those, who, nevertheless, are inclined to regard us as foreigners, out of place in American surroundings, alien to the American spirit, or, like a recent author of a book of some scholarly pretensions as descendants of the Hessian soldiers, we accept the comparison of records, and ask: "Who are you, and where were your fathers, in the decisive struggle?"

Highly prizing, as we do, our German origin, and greatly attached as we are to the homes from which our fathers came, we are no less thankful for the Providence which brought them hither, and made their lives and those of their children to differ so much from what would have been their lot, if they had remained in the fatherland. We do not look with regret across the water, or censure whatever in American life fails to fulfil German ideals or to conform to German standards. But we seek to employ every native endowment we derive from inheritance and every attainment acquired by our access to German thought, in the service of the country which our fathers aided in establishing and which is our native land and that of our children and children's children. The indomitable patience, the painstaking care, the concentration of purpose, the mastery of details, that have enabled our people to triumph over material obstacles and to make their

homes models of comfort and thrift, are the same traits that in the sphere of scholarship have made the Germans the most successful of investigators, and the teachers of the world. The scope of volumes of Proceedings of this society shows what results may be gained by the application of the same traits to the study of American conditions. Our debt of gratitude to the small band of scholars, who, for the last twenty years have been guiding these studies, is all the greater, when we consider that if their work had been deferred, with every year that would have passed, most valuable sources of information, both written and printed, would have perished, and much oral tradition, extending back six or seven generations, would have been lost.

The look, however, of this society is not chiefly retrospective. Its mission is not mainly to preserve history. The study of history, without a purpose, is most barren. A mere antiquarian or genealogical interest would not repay our pains. The value of our knowledge of the past lies in the basis it affords for the fulfilment of our mission in the present, and for the possibilities it offers for the future. We study our ancestors to understand ourselves. We familiarize ourselves with the lives of the early settlers of this state to estimate the true position of the community composed of their descendants to-day. We dare not rest in the achievements of our fathers. We are unfaithful to their memory unless we build upon what they have done, as they built upon the work of those who preceded them. No one who studies our people as a whole will deny that there were many ideals in the minds of those who led them in the earlier years of their home in this country that are as yet unrealized, that they have capacities far beyond those that have been utilized; that

there are within them prophecies that have not been fulfilled. The aim of this society is to incite one another to still greater attainments, to widen the outlook, to elevate the standard, to develop individuality and initiative, to deepen the sense of responsibility, and to encourage to active participation in all matters of common interest and public life. Nothing that others have accomplished is beyond their ability. Its aim is also to preserve, as far as possible, the solidarity of this people, not by isolating them from others, or by discouraging their common participation in the wider circles of state and national life, to which all are asked to contribute their share; but in such way, that the progress of its individual members should tell also upon the inner circle, from which they come, and to which they properly belong, so that this circle constantly rises, because the progress of each one raises the common standard. No duties that an individual owes the state justify the neglect of those incumbent upon him as a member of a family, except in some very rare crisis, where a conflict may arise. So also we may claim that the recognition of the community of interests and responsibilities belonging to this family of families, will contribute more effectively to the advancement of the general community than if there be general indifference to our origin and separation from our kindred.

The reader of the many scholarly and exhaustive papers included in our Proceedings cannot fail to notice how prominent a part the religious element has had in the history of our people. We are not warranted in claiming that the immigration that brought us hither was prompted chiefly by religious motives. While, in some cases, this may be affirmed, there is no ground for extending this motive so as to comprise in it the most of the immigrants.

But, even with this qualification, we must recognize the fact that they were, as a rule, a religious people. That their religion not infrequenty passed into superstition only shows the exaggeration of a common principle. There was an inwardness of spiritual life and a depth of genuine religious feeling that seem to have been common characteristics, underlying the denominational differences, and contrasting them with the peculiar religious type exhibited by other races. Their literature, for at least a century, was mainly that of their religious books, and especially of devotional works, some of them of great weight and size. When churches and congregations were few, and preaching rare, family religious life was maintained by the reading of the ponderous German bibles that had been imported, or had been issued from the press of Christopher Saur at Germantown, and by collections of prayers and meditations on Scripture and approved sermons, found in many a lonely farmhouse on the remote frontier. There is scarcely a family whose traditions have continued until to-day, and that can point to an ancestry worthy of remembrance, that does not know some such heirloom.

That which makes an aggregation of people a communty is some permanent bond of union. Remove it, and the community is dissolved. That bond, with our fathers, was not mere race, or nationality, or language, or former residence in one home and removal to another, but, back of all these accidents, a relationship, based upon the common relationship each individual bore to God through Jesus Christ. Whatever future may be hoped for their descendants is dependent upon their maintenance of the same religious foundation.

Although this society has published twenty massive

volumes that have put into permanent form and rendered generally accessible results of exhaustive investigation that many would have thought scarcely possible, its work is by no means over. There is ample material for similar efforts during another score of years. Much valuable manuscript material remains that could very profitably be translated and published. Even although well secured and guarded, such treasures, with advancing years, often become illegible. Besides, it is the interest of every one concerned to make their information as conveniently accessible as possible. Much also is scattered among those who have no estimate of its value that should be rescued from destruction. A scientifically constructed bibliography of all material bearing upon the field which this society is cultivating, with ample annotations and complete indexes, would be greatly appreciated by students. It is worthy of the ambition of those who boast of the thoroughness of German scholarship and the enterprise of America. The history of the dialect, and its relations, its grammar and vocabulary, still await adequate treatment by the philologist. We are the link connecting one generation with another. By being faithful to the past, we will be faithful also to the future.

Now that the society has attained its majority, may it enter upon a new period of vigor and usefulness! May its sessions in this, the Capital of the Commonwealth, inspire us with higher appreciation of our American citizenship and of the responsibilities which it brings.

Report of the Secretary.

It is with great satisfaction that the secretary is able to report that, during the year just brought to a close, nothing

has occurred to interfere with the general progress and prosperity of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

In all forms of its activity the society has continued to maintain the high standards for which it has been noted in the past, and those that have been looking for a gradual decline of the society's strength and influence, have, we are glad to report, been sadly disappointed.

As heretofore, the interests of the society have been carefully guided and guarded by the Executive Committee, which held its four regular quarterly meetings in January, April, June and October. We are happy to be able to report that during the past year volume 19 of our Proceedings has been published and distributed to all those members whose financial standing entitled them to a copy of the same. In this connection it may be well to remind our members of the rule that is found printed on our bills in heavy type and yet is so often overlooked or misunderstood. The rule is that no publications are supplied to members until the dues for the current year have been paid. Accordingly, to illustrate, no publications that appear in 1911 will be supplied to a member unless he has paid his dues for 1911.

Of the contents of volume 19 I hardly need speak. I believe that all of our members will agree with me that in living interest, literary attractiveness and historical value this volume of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society compares very favorably with the row of stately annals that have preceded it.

In membership the society also has maintained its usual numerical strength. At the last meeting it was reported that the society had 490 members in good standing. At that meeting and during the year thirteen new members were elected, one resigned and, as far as is now known

to the secretary, two died. This leaves us at this time, not including the new members elected at this meeting, a grand total of 500 members.

To show that our society is becoming still more widely known, it may be interesting to note that one of the applications for membership comes from Lima, Peru, from a gentleman who has been a lieutenant in the Philippine Constabulary, later lived in China, Japan and the Isthmus of Panama, and is now superintendent of transportation of the Central Railroad of Peru.

The funds of the society, as the treasurer's report will show, are also in excellent condition.

With the most pleasant recollections of the very successful meeting at York still vividly in mind and the assurance of a delightful session in this beautiful Capitol of the state, in which the influence of our forefathers played so prominent a part that its distinctive name has been given to our people as well as to our organization.

We bespeak for the Pennsylvania-German Society continued and, wherever possible, even increased interest and enthusiasm on the part of all our members. If in the coming year each one of us 500 members could secure one new member, as we easily can, what a wonderful growth in interest and in influence could not the Pennsylvania-German Society report at our next annual meeting!

GEO. T. ETTINGER,
Secretary.

Under unfinished business the amendment to Article IV, Section 4, of the Constitution, increasing the membership of the Executive Committee to fifteen in addition to the secretary instead of ten as at present, three members to be elected every year instead of two as at present, was finally passed as offered at the last annual meeting.

After an extended discussion of the question of owning a journal as the official organ of the society the Executive Committee was instructed to investigate the matter with power to act.

The Committee on Bibliography appointed at the last annual meeting then reported through its chairman, Dr. S. P. Heilman.

At this point the chairman appointed Abraham S. Schropp, Frank Brunner and Dr. W. B. Diffenderfer to audit the treasurer's accounts.

Treasurer's Report.

Dr.

Received from Dues	$1,110.00
Received from Books Sold	19.00
Interest	20.00
Sundries	2.00
Total Receipts	$1,151.00
October 13, 1911, cash balance	2,558.96
	$3,709.96

Cr.

As per Vouchers	$2,019.10
Cash in Bank	1,690.86
	$3,709.96

General Fund	$1,670.86
Life Fund	20.00
P. & E. Bonds	1,000.00
	$2,690.86

October 13, 1912.

On motion duly seconded the annual statement of the treasurer and the auditor's report certifying to the correctness of the same were received and adopted.

A unanimous vote of thanks was passed acknowledging the courtesy of the state authorities in permitting the society to meet in the Capitol.

A communication was then read from George F. Baer, LL.D., in which he presented to the society a copy of the address made by him, in England, at the unveiling by the Pennsylvania Society of New York of a memorial tablet to William Penn. The thanks of the society were voted to Dr. Baer and it was ordered that his address be included in the Proceedings of this meeting.

Toast: London and Philadelphia.

Mr. Geo. F. Baer:

Mr. President, My Lords and Gentlemen: I am an emergency man. By cable I have been drafted to represent the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, and ordered into immediate service without that chance of drill and preparation for action that my distinguished countrymen have been more fortunate in having. There is perhaps some incongruity in the fact that the mayor of a Quaker city should call upon a Pennsylvania-German to represent that city. But on reflection the eternal fitness of things is not so seriously outraged as one would suspect. With great gratitude the Pennsylvania-Germans recall that there was a time when Penn was their great benefactor. In the great tumult in Europe, when the cities and the homes of the Rhine were devastated, and numberless Germans were cast upon the world as wanderers without shelter or without hope, it was Penn who called them into

counsel and told them of the Commonwealth he had founded in Pennsylvania, where liberty of conscience and liberty regulated by law was supreme. In countless numbers they flocked there, numbers so great that after a few short years the proprietary governor of Pennsylvania called the British government's attention to the fact that the number was so great that the dominion of the British in Pennsylvania was threatened.

At one time Penn's great nation, having mercy upon several thousands Palatines, offered them a home and shelter in your own land. When it was not found practicable to take care of them here, your good Queen Anne chartered many ships and sent them to New York. I dare not tell you to-night in the presence of the Pennsylvania Society of New York what their treatment was in New York, because New York, as is demonstrated by the presence of these great Pennsylvanians dwelling in New York, has become more hospitable; but in the course of a few years those worthy Germans came over to Pennsylvania to seek good homes and peace and rest. There is more significance in this gathering to-night than in the mere commemoration of the life of Penn. These two great nations are bound together by marvelous ties. Though we separated from you many years ago, in everything that controls the liberties and conscience of our American people we are still English. The common law is our law; in the courts of justice your decisions are given equal force to our own, and whether you fully recognize it or not we are as missionaries accomplishing a great work which will tend for all time to make perpetual the dominion of the men who speak the English tongue.

Year by year millions of men of strange tongues come to our land and in the course of a few generations their

foreign tongues are forgotten and they speak the English language and imbibe those English principles which have been for the last centuries the leading ideals of the world. So that it is inconceivable—not inconceivable perhaps—but improbable that at any time these English-speaking people shall ever come to any serious warfare. Jealousies there will be between us, rivalry there will be, because after all rivalry is a token of progress; but we can never conceive of two nations speaking the same language and having the same traditions, ever coming into any serious conflict.

It has been said that language and not race is the bond that unites the people of the earth, and so it is. When I remember how brothers in our own land, speaking the same language and of the same race, and under the same government, rose up in deadly conflict, I may well hesitate to prophesy as to the future peace of the world. Whatever the future may have in store for us, sure I am that in the onward movement of the world these great English-speaking nations will be the foremost in controlling the destiny of the world.

I am not so sure that temples of peace and prayers for peace, and the theories of peace of even William Penn will dominate and be final; but I am impressed with the idea that in some mysterious way, and by means perhaps of intercommunication such as we have had to-night with Philadelphia, the world is becoming more akin. The commercial interest of the world are becoming so great that the great nations engaged in commerce and business will stop the angry cry of politicians and their reserve of common sense will prevent any serious war in the future.

These are aspirations, but I am not here to make a

formal speech but simply to represent the City of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia is a "no mean city." The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is so great in all its material prosperity that there is scarcely any one section of the world superior to it. She has the natural wealth that nature, in her prodigality, has given to the best of nations. She could produce the food to take care of twice her present population and she has the mineral resources and the capacity within her territory to develop all that is essential for the comfort of man, even in this progressive and extravagant age, without going outside her boundaries.

William Penn's memorial for all time will be the great commonwealth he founded. Philadelphia sends greetings in the spirit of brotherly love to the great City of London, the acknowledged Metropolis of the world. What Rome was to ancient civilization, London is to modern civilization. With all her historic greatness, with all the honors that have through the centuries been given her, not amongst the least is the fact that here was the birthplace of William Penn.

Election of Officers.

The election of officers for the coming year resulted as follows: President, Henry M. M. Richards, Litt.D., Lebanon, Pa.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Frank M. Trexler, LL.D., Allentown, Pa., George A. Gorgas, Esq., Harrisburg, Pa.; Treasurer, Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Executive Committee, Naaman H. Keyser, D.D.S., Germantown, Pa., W. K. T. Sahm, M.D., Pittsburgh, Pa., Prof. Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., Bethlehem, Pa., Rev. A. Stapleton, Jersey Shore, Pa., Charles R. Roberts, Allentown, Pa., Rev. John Baer Stoudt, Northampton,

Pa., Benjamin F. Fackenthal, Jr., Sc.D., Riegelsville, Pa.

At 11:30 A.M. a recess was taken to enable the members to inspect the exhibit of Historical Treasures and Memorials of Capitol Hill, under the direction of Thomas Lynch Montgomery, A.B., state librarian.

Luncheon.

From 12:15 to 1:15 a luncheon was tendered to the members and their friends by the society in the auditorium of the School Department. This was well attended and proved to be one of the social features of the meeting. Then followed an hour for sight-seeing and visiting the state Capitol, the Home of the Dauphin County Historical Society and other points of interest.

Afternoon.

The second session of the meeting was called to order by the president at 2:15 o'clock, after which the following papers were read:

1. "The Influence of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the Development of our Public School System," by Rev. Nathan C. Schaeffer, D.D., Ph.D., LL.D., State Superintendent of Public Schools, Harrisburg, Pa.

2. "The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland," by Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D., Buffalo, N. Y.

3. "Charles Calvin Zeigler, a Pennsylvania-German Poet," by Harry H. Reichard, Ph.D., professor in State College of Pennsylvania.

All the papers were of a high order of merit and called forth interesting and profitable discussions.

After a short address by the newly-elected president, Dr. Henry M. M. Richards, the meeting adjourned.

Evening.

At six o'clock more than one hundred ladies and gentlemen, members and friends of the Pennsylvania-German Society, assembled in the auditorium of the Board of Trade to partake of the annual dinner of the society.

James McCormick Lamberton, Esq., presided, and, after the guests had paid their proper respects to the six courses of the menu, the following gentlemen responded to toasts:

Hon. William U. Hensel, LL.D., former Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, "Of Age"; Mr. Edward James Stackpole, postmaster of Harrisburg and editor of the *Harrisburg Telegraph,* "The Press and the Pennsylvania-Germans"; Hon. Henry Houck, Secretary of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania, "The Home Life of the Pennsylvania-German"; Hon. Theodore Berghaus Klein, president of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, "Greetings"; President Henry M. M. Richards, Litt.D., "A Word for the Future."

All the speakers were most happy in the treatment of their respective themes, and, as the large assembly dispersed at a late hour, another successful meeting was added to the long list of annual gatherings of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

Biographical Sketches of Deceased Members of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

Charles Oscar Schantz.
Henry Herbert Herbst, A.M., M.D.
Rev. Oliver Peter Smith, D.D.

Charles Oscar Schantz.

Charles Oscar Schantz was born at Balliettsville, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, May 31, 1853.

The founder of the family in America was John Schantz whose name is on record in Harrisburg, Pa., in a list of emigrants from Germany under date of October 1, 1770. He was the father of four sons, Jacob, Philip, John and Henry, of whom John and Henry settled at Trappe, Pennsylvania, where their descendants were found in recent years. John Schantz, the son of Philip, was the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, whose son John became the father of Charles Oscar Schantz. The mother of Charles Oscar Schantz was Elizabeth Meyer, a daughter of Peter Meyer, whose wife was a Miss Gungawere.

Charles Oscar Schantz was educated in the public schools and the Allentown Military Academy. He began his active life as clerk in a mercantile house, but soon became a messenger for the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company. He worked his way up to the position of head clerk and remained with this company nearly eight years. On February 3, 1874, he entered the Allentown National Bank as individual ledger book-keeper, later became assistant teller and in turn chief clerk until 1903, when he was elected cashier of the newly established Merchants' National Bank, with which he remained until his death. Mr. Schantz's skill and knowledge contributed very materially to the phenomenal success of the new institution.

In 1872 Mr. Schantz married Miss Amanda Kline, a daughter of Thomas and Eliza Dornblaser Kline. Seven children survived the father.

Mr. Schantz was an enthusiastic member of the Evangelical Church.

He died July 26, 1911.

He was elected a regular member of the Pennsylvania-German Society October 25, 1900.

G. T. E.

Henry Herbert Herbst, M.D.

Henry Herbert Herbst, M.D., was born in Trexlertown, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, May 22, 1858. He was a son of Dr. William Herbst (born September 24, 1833) and Sarah Ellen Herbst (born April 29, 1839), a daughter of David Schall (born April 20, 1799—died November 16, 1883), who was a son of George Schall, who came to America from the Palatinate in Germany in 1748, and settled in Earl Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. His father was Dr. William Herbst, one of the best-known botanists of his day, a son of Frederick William Herbst (born February 4, 1804—died December 16, 1880), who emigrated from Saxony in 1826 and settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania.

The subject of this sketch received his preparatory training at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass., and was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., in 1878, from which institution he later also received the degree of Master of Arts. During his medical course at the University of Pennsylvania he served as President of his class the first year and Secretary of the same the last year, and at graduation in 1881 he received honorable mention for his thesis on the subject of "Alimentation." He was also one of the founders of the H. C. Wood Medical Society of the University of Pennsylvania.

For one year after graduation he served as examining surgeon for the Pennsylvania Railroad at Wilmington,

when he returned to Allentown, Pa., where he followed his profession with eminent success to the day of his death. At various times he served as city physician for the Poor Directors, President of the Board of Health, member of the United States Board of Pension Examiners, President of the Medical Section of the Pennsylvania State Medical Society, of which society he was the First Vice-President, member of the Board of Education of Allentown for twenty years, physician to the Allentown Hospital, President of the Alumni Association of Muhlenberg College, Professor of Physical Education in the same institution, and a member of the American Academy of Medicine, of the Livingston Club and the Clover Club.

Upon the death of Mayor Harry G. Stiles, Dr. Herbst was chosen by City Councils of Allentown to fill the unexpired term, November 17, 1908.

He also attained high rank in Masonry.

He was the author of "Etiology of Diphtheria," "Physical Education," and "School Hygiene."

In 1881 Dr. Herbst married Miss Annie A. Frill, from which union Dr. William Frederick Herbst, who has succeeded to his father's practice, now survives.

Dr. Herbst was of genial disposition, a representative citizen and a good father.

He died Wednesday, September 20, 1911.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society July 17, 1906.

G. T. E.

Rev. Oliver Peter Smith, D.D.

Rev. Oliver Peter Smith, D.D., was born in New Tripoli Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, on September 4, 1848. His parents were Frederick Smith (born December 23, 1802—died April 23, 1876), son of Frederick Smith and Magdalena Gambar, and Mary Margarette Schwab (born January 3, 1804—died April 17, 1876), a daughter of Christian Schwab. Both parents were natives of Bavaria, whence they emigrated to America in 1828. The father was a parochial school teacher and organist in New Tripoli Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, for forty-five years and his grandfather, also named Frederick, served in the same capacity in the Fatherland.

Dr. Smith was prepared for college in the public schools, was graduated from Muhlenberg College in 1871, from the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, Phila., in 1874, and at once became pastor of the Augustus Lutheran Church, Trappe, Pa., the cradle of Lutheranism in America. At the same time he served congregations at Limerick and at Schwenksville. In May, 1889, he accepted a call to the Lutheran Church of the Transfiguration, Pottstown, Pa., where he labored till he was called home.

In 1903 he made an extended tour through England, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland.

Dr. Smith was a prominent member of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and at various times served as a member of the Board of English Home Missions, as Trustee of Muhlenberg College, as Director of the Theological Seminary at Mount Airy, Philadelphia, and as President of the Norristown Conference.

In 1874 he married Miss Laura A. Barnes, who died in 1884. In 1887 he married Miss Mary M. Hobson, who survives him with two sons. He died October 15, 1911.

Dr. Smith was a loyal friend, a faithful pastor, and an eloquent preacher.

He was elected an associate member of the Pennsylvania-German Society October 2, 1902.

G. T. E.

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XXIV

THE WAYSIDE INNS ON THE LANCASTER ROADSIDE, BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA AND LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.

JULIUS F. SACHSE, Litt.D.
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J. E. B. BUCKENHAM, M.D.

The Wayside Inns

on the

Lancaster Roadside

between

Philadelphia and Lancaster

PART XXIV. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY
(CONCLUDED)

BY

JULIUS FRIEDRICH SACHSE

LANCASTER, PA.
1914

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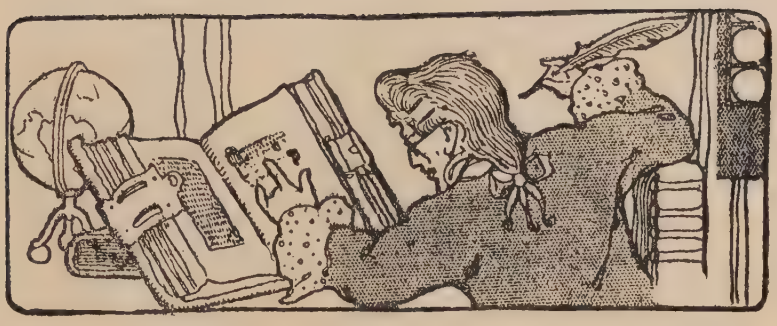
THE "SIGN OF THE WHITE HORSE."

ON THE OLD LANCASTER ROAD IN EAST WHITELAND, CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA



IN part XXIII of the NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN THE SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, published in Volume XXI of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society, an extended history was given of two of the famous inns on the Lancaster Turnpike, both of which were kept by Pennsylvania-Germans.

These two papers on the Spread Eagle and Warren Taverns, as before stated, were a part of a series prepared by the present writer for the *Village Record* of West Chester during the eighties of last century, much of these facts and traditions being gathered by the writer in his boyhood days, prior to the Civil War.

Owing to the widespread interest aroused by the republication of these sketches, and in compliance with the requests received from many sources, the Pennsylvania-German Society has concluded to reprint the remaining papers of this series, thus giving the history of the old "Blue

Ball" in Tredyffrin—originally the "Half-way" house between the Schuylkill and the Brandywine. Then the eleven taverns on the turnpike between the Spread Eagle Tavern, near the milestone and the Paoli Tavern, just above the Landmark. Thence follows the Story of the Paoli, the "Green Tree," a short mile west of the Paoli, and of the "Ship" in West Whiteland, near the milestone. To these is added a sketch of the Old "White Horse" Tavern in East Whiteland. The views illustrating these papers were taken by the writer prior to 1886.

One of the results of the publication of the story of these old inns in our former volume is a renewed interest in these old landmarks, by the residents along the main line of the Pennsylvania, and a proposition that suitable tablets, appropriately inscribed, be put up along that ancient highway, marking places of historic interest, prominent among which are the sites of a number of these ancient hostelries, as well as other buildings connected with the early history of this section of Pennsylvania.

THE BLUE BALL TAVERN, ON THE OLD LANCASTER ROAD, IN TREDYFFRIN TOWNSHIP, CHESTER COUNTY.

IN Tredyffrin township, on the borders of Easttown, about a mile west of the village of Berwyn, just south of the railroad, where the turnpike crosses underneath the iron highway, formerly stood in a slight ravine or valley formed by a spur of the valley hill, a primitive stone house, roughly built of the stone found on the surface of the ground during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It was located on the south side of the provincial road, which was then the only means of reaching the outlying settlements towards Conestoga. Remains of this ancient building may yet be seen in the rear portion of Robert Glenn's house, the front, or main portion of the old Inn only having been demolished when it was replaced by the present house in 1863. In the earliest part of our

history this house was a prominent landmark and known as the "Half-way House," it being about equidistant from the Schuylkill (Coultas) ferry and Downing's Mill (now Downingtown); it also occupied the same position on the road connecting the two Welsh congregations of the Church of England, viz.: St. David's (Radnor) and St. Peter's (Gt. Valley).

From 1735 when the house came into the possession of Robert Richardson it became known as the "Blue Ball," under which name the original house as well as its successor, a few rods north on the turnpike, attained more or less celebrity a century later. In the primitive days of our province a roadside tavern was a necessity, not only as a house of entertainment but one of shelter as well. These roadside inns were among the prominent and important landmarks on the early maps of the province, as may be seen by reference to Scull and Heaps's map published in 1750, or any of the early distance tables in use a century and a half ago, on which our inn is stated to be 19 miles, 3 quarters, and 62 perches west of the Court House in Philadelphia. The road on which the Blue Ball was located was the most important public road in the province of Pennsylvania. In Colonial days it was the main road from Philadelphia to Lancaster and was known as the "great" or "provincial" road; to the present generation it is known as the old Lancaster Road in such places where its bed is not occupied by the turnpike or where it has not been vacated altogether.

Tradition tells us that a portion of the road which is in Chester county was formerly an old Indian trail, and became one of the first roads in the primitive settlement.

The road does not seem to have been opened through to Lancaster until after 1730, as in January of that year the

Magistrates, Grand Jury and other Inhabitants of the County of Lancaster, presented a petition to the Provincial Council, setting forth "that not having the Conveniency of any Navigable water, for bringing the Produce of their Labours to Philadelphia, they are obliged at a great Expense to transport them by Land Carriage, which Burthen becomes heavier thro' the Want of Suitable Roads for Carriages to pass. That there are no public Roads leading to Philadelphia yet laid out thro' their County, and those in Chester County, thro' which they now pass, are in many places incommodious. And therefore praying that Proper Persons may be appointed to view and lay out a Road for the Publick Service from the Town of Lancaster till it falls in with the high Road in the County of Chester, leading to the Ferry of Schuylkill of High Street, and that a Review may be had of the Said Publick Road in the County of Chester." The prayer of this petition being granted Thos. Green, George Ashton, William Paschal, Richard Buffington, William March, Samuel Miller and Robert Parke of the county of Chester, or any five of them, together with the same number from Lancaster county, were empowered jointly to review the said high Road and report to the board what alterations may be necessary to be made therein, to suit the Conveniency of Carriages and for the better accommodation of the Inhabitants of the Province.

The Commissioners made a report to the Council at Philadelphia Oct. 4, 1733, setting forth that they had laid out the road to the house of John Spruce, in Whiteland township, Chester county, a distance of thirty-two statute miles from the Courthouse in Lancaster. They concluded their report:

"And we further beg leave to say, that being unprovided with a copy of the Records of the aforesaid public road through Chester county, and the lands contiguous to the said road being mostly improved and at present under corn, we find ourselves incapable to discover where the same hath been altered from its true course (to the Damage thereof) and also conclude the present season of the year improper for a review."

January 23, 1735–6, a petition was presented to the Council by sundry inhabitants of the townships of Tredyffrin, Easttown, Willistown and places adjacent to the County of Chester, setting forth that the road is brought no further than to the house of John Spruce in Whiteland township, in the County of Chester, to the great inconvenience of persons travelling with wagons and other heavy carriages and therefore praying that orders may be given for perfecting the said road, in pursuance to the order granted on the above petition.

It was, however, not until November 23, 1741, that the survey of the road was completed. In this report it mentions that the road was run by way of William Evans's smith shop then in Tredyffrin Town to the sign of the Ball, thence it entered East Town, &c. The road was confirmed and ordered to be opened and cleared forthwith.

The winter of this year (1741) was an exceptionally hard one, and was noted for the frequent and deep snows, interrupting all travel and communication between the settlers for weeks at a time. The severity of the winter was complained of everywhere throughout the province, in many places in Chester county cattle died from want of fodder; many deer were also found dead in the woods, while some came tamely to the plantations and fed on the hay with the other cattle. Toward Lancaster county the

snow averaged over three feet in depth, consequently the settlers suffered much for want of bread, all access to the mills being barred by the deep drifts, in many cases families of new settlers had little else to subsist on but the carcasses of deer they found dead and dying in the swamps or runs near their houses.

In the early times before the "Great" road was opened, all travel was on horseback, all freight and merchandise was transported on pack horses, grain was carried to the mill or market in large sacks holding between two and three bushels, which were placed on pack saddles, and a boy mounted on one horse would lead three or four in a line behind the one he rode. By means of these pack horses the most unwieldy articles such as bars of iron, barrels of liquor, and other necessities were also transported. Women generally rode behind their male companions on a pillion attached to the hinder part of the saddle, and secured firmly on the horse. High horse-blocks were a necessity and could be seen in front of most all houses. It was not long before road carts were built and by the middle of the century wagons came into use for transportation but on account of their clumsy and cumberous construction did not entirely supersede the pack horse until many years later.

Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, who visited and traveled through the province in 1748, in writing about the customs and condition of the country says: "The roads are good or bad according to the difference of the ground. In a sandy soil the roads are dry and good, but in a clayey one they are bad. The people here are likewise very careless in mending them. If a rivulet be not too great, they do not make a bridge over it, and travelers may do as well as they can to get over. When a tree falls across the

road it is seldom cut off to keep the road clear, but the people go round it."

Richardson kept the Inn until 1741, when the property was bought by Thomas McKean, an uncle of Governor McKean; he without difficulty obtained a license and appears to have kept the house until 1752. In the following year he was succeeded by Conrad Young, of Philadelphia. It seems that the new landlord was a German, and on his accession to the property changed the name to the "King of Prussia." He continued in possession until 1757. The traveling public and residents do not seem to have approved of the change on the sign-board, so the Inn continued to be known as the "Ball." During the August term of 1758 we find the petition of Joseph Wilkinson, late of Uwchlan at the Red Lion, in which he represents "That your petitioner is removed to the place where the sign of the Blue Ball has long been kept (now the King of Prussia), on Lancaster road, where he proposes (under your favor), to continue to keep a Public House of Entertainment."

During 1759 Joseph Wilkinson was again licensed. It was during the term of Young and Wilkinson that the French and Indian excitement was rife in the Province. There is a tradition that a part of the forces under General Braddock, as well as the more fortunate Generals Forbes and Stanwix, were assembled and mustered at this place prior to their joining the main body on its march to the Ohio; in corroboration of this tradition it was customary to refer to the very high doors with arched heads in the old tavern stables (demolished and replaced by present barn in 1863), which were said to have been built so high that the King's troopers could ride in and out without dismounting. During 1758–9, when requisitions were

issued in the county for horses and wagons for military purposes the appraiser for Easttown, Tredyffrin and the adjoining townships, it is said, had his headquarters at the "Ball," further that on account of the opposition of the Quaker element his office was anything but a sinecure.

March 13, 1759, Dr. Bernhard Van Leer, of Marple, purchased the Blue Ball property from Conrad Young, who had again returned to Philadelphia. The two plantations connected with the tavern contained 209 acres. The following year, 1760, Dr. Van Leer leased the property to Benj. Weatherby, who in August of that year petitions for a license when "a public house of entertainment has been found necessary in Tredyffrin for over twenty years past on the road leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster." Among his recommenders we find Francis Wayne, Isaac Wayne, Thomas McKean, &c. Weatherby continued from year to year until 1766, the names of some of the leading vestrymen of both churches before mentioned being among his recommenders. It frequently depended upon who appeared as the recommenders of an applicant, whether the license was granted or refused. As early as 1763 an application was made to the Governor for the regulation of taverns, in which it sets forth "That one only should be in such a defined distance, or in proportion to so many inhabitants, that the bar rooms should be closed upon the Sabbath day, as it would tend to prevent youth from committing excesses to their own ruin and injury of their masters and the affliction of their parents and friends." In 1767 Weatherby was succeeded by his widow, who asks renewal and continues until 1771, in August of which year Philip Upright presents a petition setting forth that he "has rented the Tavern late in the tenure of the Widow Weatherby where an old and well

accustomed house of public entertainment has been kept for a number of years known by the name of the "Blue Ball." Among the signers were Isaac Wayne, Anthony Wayne, John Gronow, Griffith Jones and others.

By the following interesting account of a "trip for pleasure" over the old road during the summer of 1773, taken from the diary (lately found) of a person whose name is unfortunately lost to us, the initial XI .... only being given,[1] one may well contrast the present luxurious mode of travel between the two cities, with the long, weary and uncomfortable journey which awaited the seeker for pleasure a hundred and thirty-nine years ago.

"Left Lancaster about three o'clock in the afternoon on Wednesday, the 25th, a fine, pleasant day, in good spirits, but alas, a sad accident had like to have turned our mirth to mourning, for W. driving careless and being happily engaged with the lady he had the pleasure of riding with, and not mindful enough of his charge, drove full against a large stump which stood in the way, by which the chair was overturned, and the lady thrown out to a considerable distance, but happily received no hurt. This evening about 8 o'clock arrived at Douglass', (between Millers and The Hat,) where supped and rested all night. The supper was pretty tolerable, beds indifferent; being short of sheets for the beds the woman was good enough to let W. have a tablecloth in lieu of one.

"Thursday 26th, 1773, at 7 o'clock left Douglass; about ten arrived at the Ship (west of Downingtown) where we breakfasted, which was good, the people obliging, the house clean and decent; at 11 o'clock set out; at one we stopped at the Adm. Warren thence proceeded to Stradleburgs(?) during which time it rained vere heavy upon us, which was the more disagreeable, as the ladies were much exposed thereto, neither of the chairs having tops; soon after our arrival about four left Stradleburgs, and were all the way down in a heavy rain; but happily the ladies' good constitutions,

[1] Penna. Mag., July, 1886.

prevented bad effects following their being so much wet; about eight o'clock we arrived at the city."

Philip Upright continued as landlord of the Blue Ball probably until the invasion by the British, September, 1777, when he was despoiled of his possessions along with the other unfortunate residents of Tredyffrin who chanced to come within reach of the hireling foe. There are no official records during the three following years as to who was the host at the inn.

In July, 1777, the first attempt was made to run a "Stage Wagon" between Philadelphia and Lancaster, but as it took two days to travel the distance of sixty miles, the experiment was soon abandoned. The condition of the great road at this time was so bad as to be almost impassable, wagons could not carry more than half or two thirds of a load on that account. The causes of this state of affairs were two-fold; first, the great amount of travel caused by the demand for supplies for the subsistence of the armies; second, the impossibility of getting the inhabitants to make the necessary repairs. In some of the worst places details of the militia were sent to make the needed repairs, under the direction of the Deputy-Quarter-Master-General of the Army, still this gave but partial relief. Numerous complaints were made to the Supreme Executive Council of the State early in the year, while Washington and the army were yet quartered at Valley Forge. In May, 1778, the Council took action upon the complaints and at once issued the following order to all Supervisors in both Lancaster and Chester counties:

"LANCASTER. May 7th, 1778.

"Whereas, complaints are made to Council that the Roads and Highways in this State are ruinous, and in many parts almost

impassable, for want of being repaired and amended, as the Law requires, whereby Travellers are impeded in their Journies, private Business obstructed, and the publick supplies for the Army delayed, and their Operations in Danger of being disappointed, to the great Scandal, Detriment and Danger of this Commonwealth and the manifest injury of the common cause of America:

These are therefore to require and command all Supervisors of the Roads and Highways within this State, without Fail or Loss of Time, to proceed to the Reparation and Amendment of the Roads, and to enjoin upon all Magistrates and others concerned, to exert themselves in making presentments of Defects and Nuisances in the premises or to the Quarter Sessions of the peace of the respective counties, or to prosecute and otherwise proceed against all deficient Township and Supervisors according to Law, that they may be punished in such manner as their neglect shall require."

By Order of Council.

By this increased travel on the provincial road the roadside Inns reaped a considerable harvest both before and after the British occupation of Philadelphia and this vicinity. As an illustration of some of the curious customs of those times, the following tavern rate is given, as published in the *Philadelphia Evening Post,* Sept. 11, 1778. These prices no doubt were in Pennsylvania currency and were fixed by the County Courts as a matter of protection to the traveller.

"Prices as fixed by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Philadelphia county, September 7th, 1778, to be paid in Public Houses within said county:"

Madeira wine per quart.....	£2	0	0
Lisbon wine per quart.....	1	5	0
Tenriffe wine per quart.....	1	5	0

Spirit per gill	3	9
Brandy per gill	3	9
Whiskey per gill	1	3
Good Beer per quart	1	6
Cider Royal per quart	2	6
Cyder	1	3
Punch per bowl of about three pints	12	6
Toddy per bowl of about three pints	7	6
Breakfast of Tea or Coffee	3	9
Dinner	5	0
Supper	3	9
Lodging	1	3
Good hay for horse per night	3	9
Oats per quart		7

Any householder exceeding the above to be fined 20s for first offence; 40s for second offence and for third offence £5 and loss of license. The rates of the County of Philadelphia generally regulated the adjoining counties.

Attempts at highway robbery at this period of the Revolutionary struggle were of frequent occurrence; reports of any notice of highwaymen being in the vicinity would have the effect of preventing travelers from starting alone on their journey or after dark. This was especially the case during the time in which the noted Captain Fitz and his satellite Dougherty were wont to place travelers on the provincial road under tribute, as frequently happened between the Blue Ball and Caln. The boldness of this marauder caused the Executive Council July 13, 1778, to offer a reward of one thousand dollars for his apprehension. This resulted in the capture of Fitz, August 22, at Castle Rock, about six miles from the Inn.

By reference to some memoranda found in the "Remembrances of Christopher Marshall" it is to be inferred

that during the four years following Upright the Blue Ball was kept by Captain Thomas Reese, who in 1777 lived on an adjoining plantation in Tredyffrin, his claim for losses sustained by the British being still in existence. Reese is mentioned by Marshall in January and September, 1778, and again in July, 1780.

Under date of Sept. 12, 1778, we find: "Reached Capt. Reese's tavern at the Blue Ball by dusk. Here we took up our residence for the night. We drank coffee for supper and slept in our great coats, stockings, &c., for fear of 'fleas and bugs.'"

Sept. 13. "We rose early, fed our horses, I paid the reckoning, thirty-eight shillings and ten pence; set off for Lancaster, &c."

The winter of 1778–9 was an exceedingly mild and pleasant one. It was so mild that in our vicinity on the 22d day of March, the orchards of different kinds were all in blossom, and the meadows as green as in the month of June; however on the next morning a storm came from the northeast and before noon there was nearly two feet of snow on the ground; this "cold snap" destroyed all the fruit for that year.

In 1782 John Phillips was the tavernkeeper and continued until 1787. After the successful close of the Revolutionary struggle, travel continued to increase to so great an extent, as to make transportation extremely expensive and difficult on the road.

In 1790 over 150,000 bushels of wheat passed over the road from Middletown for the Philadelphia market. This was exclusive of the large amount of grain raised in Chester and Lancaster counties which was also brought down the same avenue. At this time the cost of transporting a bushel of wheat from the Susquehanna to the

Schuylkill was £2 6d; it was further calculated that from one third to one half of the weight of the wheat was carried back in salt, liquors and other merchandise at 5s per hundred weight. In connection with this matter of increased transportation, the grain consumed as horse feed became an object of great attention. It was calculated that these 150,000 bushels of grain at forty-five bushels to a wagon load, were equal to almost three thousand and fifty loads; and as each team was not less than ten days on the road, it consumed ten bushels of rye, which is equal to over thirty-five thousand bushels of that grain.

As has been above mentioned the difficulties and expense of this transportation increased with the increase of the travel. The wear and tear on the teams and wagons was enormous. The terrible condition of the road especially during a wet season can now hardly be described; the ruts in the miry road often hub deep, it was nothing for teams to be stalled in the mud for half a day. During winter and spring it was even worse and it was not an unusual occurrence for wagons to freeze fast in the ruts, and there remain until they could be gotten out when the frost came out of the ground in the spring. Teamsters beside their freight were required to carry several days' forage for their horses (this was usually rye), also a drag chain about ten to twelve feet long, axe, shovel, clouts, a gallon keg of tar and oil, usually swinging under the back axle, extra horseshoes, nails, hames, strings and lynch pins, and a mattress for themselves completed the equipment. In addition some of the more frugal carried their own provisions.

In 1784 and again in 1788 efforts were made to establish a line of stage coaches between Philadelphia and Lancaster, but the enterprise proved futile on account of the

wretched condition of the highway, the great amount of travel, combined with the uncertainty of arriving at the end of the journey in any reasonable time.

The activity along the road caused a number of houses to be erected along the roadside between the Blue Ball and the Spread Eagle, two miles below. Of these houses not a trace or vestige remains to denote their former location or existence, with possibly a single exception of an old house standing just below Berwyn station, where the road connecting the turnpike and State road crosses the old road. This house prior to the building of the turnpike in 1792–5 was used as a public house and known as the "Fox" Tavern It later did duty as a country store.

Dr. Van Leer the owner of the Blue Ball property died early in 1786 and by will devised the Blue Ball Tavern, in Tredyffrin, with two tracts of land, 100 acres and 80 acres, to his daughter Mary, wife of Moses Moore who kept the Tavern from 1788 to 1792. Governor Mifflin's message of the latter year contains the following curious allusion to tavern licenses and their collection.

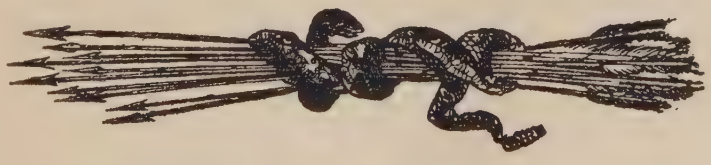
"I again bring to your notice the impediments in the collection of the duty on tavern licenses; and to point out the expediency of placing on a better footing the mode of compelling the officers, who are intrusted with public monies, to account as it may at present happen, that the process can only be issued by those who are themselves, the delinquents."

A gentleman stopping at this Inn during the winter of 1793 and writing about the winter pastimes in the country says: "The chief amusement of the country girls now is sleighing, of which they are passionately fond, as the snow is not expected to lay on the ground very long. The consequence is, that every moment that will admit of sleighing

is seized with avidity. The tavern and inn keepers are up all night, and the whole country is in motion. When the snow begins to fall, our planter's daughters provide hot sand, which at nights they place in bags at the bottom of the sleigh. Their sweethearts attend with a couple of horses and away they glide with astonishing velocity; visiting their friends for many miles around the country. But in order to have a sleighing frolic in style, it is necessary to provide a fiddler, who is placed at the head of the sleigh, and plays all the way. At every Inn they meet with on the road, the company alight and have a dance."

The three following years, 1793–6, John Llewellyn was the tenant. In the meantime the new turnpike had been built, and at once became the great highway of travel. At this point the turnpike was located about five hundred feet north of the former road and a considerable stretch of the old road was vacated. This cut off the old hostelry almost completely from its patrons. The erection of more modern and comfortable public houses, situated directly on the new turnpike also made serious inroads on the business of the old Blue Ball. Notwithstanding these drawbacks John Werkizer obtained license for the years 1797–8–9.

It was not long before this deflection of the travel and patronage induced the owner of the property to erect a new tavern under the same name directly on the turnpike.



OLD INNS ON THE LANCASTER ROAD SIDE.

THE ELEVEN HOTELS WHICH FORMERLY STOOD ON THE LANCASTER TURNPIKE BETWEEN THE EAGLE TAVERN AND THE PAOLI INN.

"THERE is to the Sorrel Horse that kicked Unicorn that made the Eagle fly; that scared the Lamb from under the stage, for drinking the Spring-house dry; that drove the Blue Ball into the Black Bear, and chased General Jackson all the way to Paoli." This unique toast, a favorite one with the hardy teamsters, who teamed along the turnpike prior to the railroad era, enumerates all the taverns in the east end of Chester county, in the order in which they came. The first three were in Radnor township, Delaware county, the others in Easttown and Tredyffrin townships, Chester county. The "toast" will no doubt be recalled to the memory of many an old "stager" who followed the road in those by-gone days;

perhaps some may also recall the eccentric character who was credited with organizing it, viz.: "Old Joe Pike."

The necessity of the Public House for the entertainment of Man and Beast, as well as the important position which it occupied in the community in these early days, may be judged from the fact that the eleven inns enumerated in the above "toast" were all within a distance of five miles. The first tavern beyond the Spread Eagle was the "Lamb"; this house was in Easttown township, about 300 yards east of the fifteenth milestone. It was built at the commencement of the last century by the owner of the property, George Reese, who was afterwards High Sheriff of Philadelphia. The west or main end of this house was the original "Valley Baptist" Church, the precursor of the present remodeled edifice. When the old log church was sold it was bought by Reese, taken down and re-erected as stated above, and stood there until about 1878 or '79 when the house was altered to its present condition. Shortly after the completion of the turnpike the building was used for several years as a country store by one Jonathan Jones, until 1812 or '13 when John Lewis of the "Stage" received a license to keep a public house at that location. He continued there for two years, when he was followed by Jacob Clinger, who erected the stone part of the house and kept the inn for many years, being succeeded to the business by his son Henry until after the advent of the railroad, when the house ceased to be profitable. This house always enjoyed a good reputation as a wagon stand and took considerable of the surplus travel, which could not be accommodated at the Eagle. The sign-board of the house swung from a high pole representing a rural landscape with a fine lamb in the foreground.

The next house, "The Stage," just west of the fifteenth

milestone, was located on the crest of the South Valley hill, and it was claimed to be the highest point west of Philadelphia. It it not known by whom this house was built, but it was owned by Dr. Harvard Davis, while John Lewis of the Lamb kept the house as an inn in 1810. He remained for two years, when he was succeeded by Edward Robinson, he in turn by Col. Alex. E. Finley, during whose term a number of militia musters were held on the Glassley Commons, between the Stage and the Lamb. As prominent actors in these gatherings Ensign Hampton, Captains Weatherby and Rowan will no doubt be remembered by some of the older residents. While Finley was the landlord of the Stage, Sammy Stirk was the wheelwright at the shops at the fifteenth milestone; he was also Constable. Among the hangers on about the tavern there was a poetic genius, name now forgotten, who had received an official visit from Stirk, when under the impulse of the moment he dashed off the following at the Constable's expense:

As Pluto was taking an airing one day,
My noble Carlisle fell plump in his way;
On the plains of famed Glassley these friends they did meet,
And they very politely each other did greet,

Good morning said Pluto with a sarcastic smile,
I am happy to meet you my noble Carlisle;
For you and your master must instantly go,
Through the mouth of old Ætna to the regions of woe.

The name of the last landlord was "Shoeneman" usually a synonym for the Stage in the latter years—during which time it dropped lower and lower in the scale; rough

and tumble fights and brawls being of nightly occurrence. The sign-board that swung from a tall pole and depicting a stage-coach drawn by four prancing horses, as well as the sign of the Lamb, were the work of a local artist, a self-taught genius, one James McGuigan, who lived on the Glassley Commons; when he died Col. Isaac Wayne wrote his obituary heading it with a verse of "Grey's Elegy."

The next hostelry was the "Spring-house" Tavern. This inn was the successor of the "Fox" Tavern on the old road mentioned in a previous article. John Llewellyn the owner of the property was also the landlord of the Blue Ball from 1793 to 1796, and it is known that his brother David kept the "Fox" until 1804, when the property was sold to William Torbet. It is thought Torbert or his son Alexander was the builder of the house on the turnpike, but it does not seem to have come into prominence until after 1814, when the house and property came into the possession of the Kugler family in which it remained until 1861, when it was conveyed to John McLeod. Remains of this old hostelry may still be seen in what is now known as "McCloud's" house in Berwyn, between the turnpike and railroad, a little east of the lumber yard below the Station. The old Spring-house for a time enjoyed considerable patronage while under the direction of the Kuglers. For a time, about 1825–30, the name was changed to the "Gen. Washington," this was after the house had been leased to John Dane; however, the residents of the vicinity as well as the patrons and habitues refused to recognize the change on the sign-board, so the house continued to be known as the "Spring-house," but in later years after the decline of the turnpike, the house was usually called "Peggy Dane's" after the widow and

successor of the last lessee; the house at one time was partly destroyed by fire.

After leaving the "Spring-house" the wagoners toiling up the pike would next pass the "Drove" usually kept by some member of the "Reese" family. This inn was almost opposite the sixteenth milestone, and as its name implies was mainly intended as a "drove stand." The proprietor catered principally to that class of patrons. One of the traditions connected with this cabaret was that the "Drove" on the turnpike and the former inn by the same name, which stood on the old road (in Cuckolds-town) a little north of the subject of this sketch, were connected by an underground passage. This house, next to the "Ball," probably enjoyed the least enviable reputation in the township. The various accounts of the large amounts of money lost at hazard, the frequent brawls and fights, which finally culminated in the killing of Nathan Reed by one J. V., soon affected the custom of the tavern. This house after the building of the railroad, which at this point necessitated a cut of over twenty feet deep, was turned into an institution of learning, which under the supervision of Professor Noble Heath, attained considerable celebrity. It was known as the "Reeseville Boarding School." It flourished with variable success until 1850, when the school was discontinued. The old inn was finally torn down in 1869 and replaced by the present handsome residence built by the late owner, H. Fritz.

The next inn was the "Ball," the successor of the celebrated colonial tavern of the same name, which was located for so many years on the old provincial road and the bridle path which preceded it through the wilderness. The "Ball" on the turnpike was built probably in the first years of the last century, and will now be easily recognized

as "Old Prissey's" so called after the last owner, who was also the daughter of the builder of the house. This house is about three fourths of a mile west of Berwyn, and when built had but two stories, the upper story with the semi-circular windows being a later addition after the house had been partially destroyed by fire. There are many gruesome and ghostly tales told in connection with this house, probably more than about all other inns on the turnpike put together. The late owner who died over twenty-five years ago, after a stormy existence of almost or more than a century, is usually the chief actor in these legends. The house itself in a dilapidated condition as it now appears (1886) still has an uncanny look about it. The half-round arched windows have been likened to wicked half-shut eyes.[1] Still no matter how eccentric Old Prissey was the fear with which her appearance would inspire school children, or how she scolded when angry, the writer still would fain draw the veil of charity over the old soul and not believe many of the deeds attributed to Old Prissey.

One characteristic tale about Mrs. Priscilla however is too good to be passed. When the railroad was built it was located very near her house. While horses were the motive power all was well and good; this lasted from 1834 to 1836—but when in the latter year the problem to employ steam as the motive power on the road was successfully solved, the trouble commenced. Prissey saw her business dwindle and decrease while her competitors at the Paoli but a short distance beyond prospered. She soon got very crabbed about this loss of patronage; of this fact the railroaders soon became aware. As sure as a train would come along, so sure was Prissey out scolding the

[1] The house of late has been modernized and is now used as a suburban residence.

crew. They in turn would return her compliments with shrill whistles. The war of shrieks came to a climax when her pet heifer one day strayed on the railroad in front of an approaching engine. The result of this act was disastrous for the bovine. The rage and anger of Prissey knew no bounds. As her claim for damages was not at once settled to her satisfaction, she got her revenge as follows: the tallow was all rendered out, and after dark a good proportion of the killed cow was put on the rails. No train passed the house that night, but it is said an engine with its train kept at it until the water gave out. (Locomotives of that early day were of little power and carried no sand.) The next day this brought down the State Collector from Paoli, and another war of words ensued, but Prissey with her arms akimbo defied them all and told them they either had to pay her or take the cow as she chose to give it to them—on the rail whenever she pleased. Before the sun set that day Prissey had her "shinplasters" (State bank notes) safe in her possession.

OLD "PRISSEY"
As the writer knew her.

Priscilla Moore is said to have been married several times—Edw. Robinson, John Cahill, John Fisher, but she was usually known as Mrs. Robinson, and the old Inn as "Mrs. Robinson's."

The next wagon tavern was the Black Bear with its swinging sign-board. It stood at the crossing of the road from Howellville, on the corner opposite Schofield's store. Little is remembered of this house except that it was a tavern on the old provincial road before the turnpike was built, and that in later years it became a great stand for sales and vendues. It continued a licensed house until 1857, Hugh Steen being the last landlord. George Steibler, Jos. Morgan and Elisha Worrall were at different times in charge. The house was torn down about a half century ago; the sign on the inn was the usual swinging sign with the name painted in large gilt block letters on a black ground. The old pump still standing by the wayside is all that remains to mark the spot of a former busy gathering place on the turnpike. Before leaving the "Bear" the writer would call special attention to the fact that at several points between the Blue Ball and the Warren, three miles above, the steel rails lie exactly in the old and forgotten Indian trails, those narrow paths unmarked by blaze on tree or pile of stones, which over two centuries ago led through the unbroken forest, in the sombre shades of which the aborigine would disappear on his hunting or depredatory excursions. This trail after the advent of the Caucasian, successively became the cart road—great road 1741—turnpike 1792—State road 1832, and finally part of the Pennsylvania Railroad system in 1852.

[*Note.*—Since the above chapter has been put in type, the following interesting, additional matter relating to

the Old Black Bear, just below the eighteenth milestone, was received from Prof. George Morris Philips, Principal of the State Normal School at West Chester, whose great-grandfather, John Philips, kept the old Black Bear tavern just below Paoli, and died there in 1790. He is down in the Pennsylvania Archives as a first lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army. An old descendant of his, Hibberd Chalfant, of Atglen, Chester County, recently stated that he remembers very distinctly when a boy six years old his grandmother telling him again and again that John Philips served as a Captain through the Revolutionary War, that he was in a prison ship, almost died from illness, and that his wife was allowed to go to the ship and nurse him, and doubtless saved his life. As he heard, she was also very helpful to the other sick soldiers there. Upon his recovery he was sent home to recruit, probably exchanged and, greatly against her wishes, insisted upon reentering the army, and served through the war. Chalfant's recollection is that this ship on which he was confined was on Lake Champlain. Our earlier information however, always was that he was in the prison ship *Jersey,* in New York harbor and that according to British records he died there, but the records in the Brooklyn Historical Society show that he survived, as he certainly did. He died intestate and his widow administered his estate, and her account is filed in the Chester County Court House and is very interesting. Professor Philips has possession of a fine old eight-day clock which formerly belonged to Capt. John Philips and was made by J. Garrett, of Goshen. It was bought at a sale of his effects by Prof. Philip's grandfather for his own son, John M. Philips, and now really belongs to his grandson, William P. Philips, of New York City.]

With the "Bear" end the wagonstands in Easttown and

Tredyffrin east of Paoli; the next house west was the "General Jackson Inn," a first-class stage tavern, built by Randall Evans, who also owned the Black Bear; he was a brother of Gen. Joshua Evans of the Paoli; after Randall's failure he was succeeded by Evanson, who rechristened the house "The Franklin," under which name it has been known to the present generation; it was also in later years known as the "Evanson House," and used for summer boarders until the repurchase in 188– by John D. Evans the owner of the Paoli.

This house was noted from 1821–29 as the meeting place of Farmers' Lodge, No. 183, A. Y. M.

A curious tale is told in connection with one of these old wagon stands which was up for sale. A wanderer coming down the turnpike, barefooted and sunburned, having all the appearances of a roustabout, his shoes and coat hanging from the staff carried across his shoulder, when in front of the inn stopped, and after reading the sale bill went into the barroom and asked the landlord, in a broad Pennsylvania dialect, "to let him *emol the haus see.*[1] The Innkeeper judging from the appearance of the man, that he merely wanted to see the house for the purpose of planning a possible nocturnal visit in the future, told him curtly to clear out and go about his business. The tramp, after some grumbling to himself, went on his way down the pike. A week or more elapsed. In the mean time the property had been sold at the Exchange, in Philadelphia, when our country Dutchman again arrived in front of the inn, but this time coming from the opposite direction. Again stopping in front of the house, and after carefully scanning the outside of the house and outbuildings he went into the bar, and on being asked by the host what he

[1] See the house.

wanted, answered, after some deliberation. *Er docht er wol des hause nan emol angucke.*[2] On being asked jeeringly, whether there was anything else that he wanted, he replied in broken English that the landlord had better get out himself as he was now the owner of the house, at the same time producing to the consternation of the now surprised landlord, the title papers for the property. It is needless to say that the manner of the tenant at once changed towards the new owner.

But three of the houses mentioned in the wagoner's toast, viz.: The Eagle, Jackson and Paoli, ranked as stage taverns of reputation with the travelling public, the others were what were known as Wagon Taverns or Drove stands. These taverns were an entirely different institution, from the well kept stage taverns previously described; each one had its particular class of patrons, and the landlord made it a specialty to cater to their particular needs and requirements; no benefit would accrue at the present day to repeat any of the gruesome tales of crime and tragedies said to have been committed within the precincts of some of the less respectable of these roadside inns; yet among some of the older residents of Easttown there are still dim memories of tales current in their younger days, of the disappearance of a peddler or two at one of these houses or at another where it was said that the chances of any drover who stopped at the inn, arriving at the end of his journey with a full purse were very slim; the writer, however, after diligent search of the Court records has not been able to find a single case of that kind coming to the official knowledge of the Court. Still there is no doubt that at some of these cabarets it would have been very unwise for a lone traveller, known to have a large sum of

[2] He thought that he would look the house over.

money in his possession, to stop and remain over night, especially if he were addicted to the social glass and not particular about his company.

The wagoner's Inn as its name implies was patronized mainly by that hardy class of men, who made a business of transporting flour, grain and the products of the West to Philadelphia, while on the return trip they would carry merchandise and other freight for the merchants of the inland country. Many of these wagoners were farmers and tilled the soil during the Spring, Summer and early Fall, when after the crops were all in, they took their teams and went on the road as wagoners until the next Spring's work commenced. It is a matter of record that many of our farmers or their sons by this means cleared the incumbrances off of their homesteads.

When the teamster came to the tavern where he intended stopping for the night his first care was to go into the barroom and see whether there was still a desirable corner vacant on the floor for his mattress or bed; if so the mattress was put on the floor and woe to any one who attempted to displace it. After refreshing himself with a "jigger" of rum invariably measured out to him by the attendant back of the bar, which was in direct contrast to the traveller who stopped at the stage tavern who was always privileged to either pour out his own liquor or specify the quantity he wanted in his grog, the teamster would then give his attention to his team. The wagon would, if possible, be run into the yard and the horses placed on each side of the tongue, on which a trough with their feed was placed. This was done to save the expense of stabling. After the team was thus provided for, the men would get their supper, after which they would congregate in the barroom or on the porches and the evening

passed in drinking and card playing. Fights and brawls among them were of frequent occurrence; this was especially the case in the lower class of these wagon taverns, where the turmoil would often run riot during an election or other times of public excitement.

A traveler who passed a night at one of these inns during the election period in 1818 says the tavern was filled by drunken men, who made a frightful uproar and yielded to excesses so horrible as to be scarcely conceivable. The rooms, the stairs, the yard, all were filled with drunken men and those who were still able to get their teeth separated uttered only the accents of fury and rage.

Scenes similar to the above were no doubt of frequent occurrence and were not to be wondered at when it is taken into consideration that there were frequently over thirty teams gathered around a single inn, the conductors of which as a class were inured to exposure and excesses; together with the usual employees and habitues of the particular inn and the large quantity of strong liquor it was then the custom to drink.

Besides the wagoner, these inns afforded shelter and accommodation for the drover with his herds of stock on their way eastward. Emigrants on their way to the far West, as it was then called, the present generation know it as Ohio, would also stop at these inns for economy sake. It was then the custom for a family seeking a new home west of the Alleghenies, to start out in a wagon; this contained, besides the family, their few household goods and such farm implements as could be conveniently carried. These teams rarely consisted of more than two horses. In warm, fair weather the emigrants would sleep in their wagon, by the roadside; the stop was usually made near a spring or creek, where a fire would be built and the

scanty meal prepared by the wife, while the husband foraged around with his grass knife procuring fodder for his horses. Roustabouts, "tramps" we now call them, would also frequent the bar and inn yard whenever the opportunity presented itself. These with the hired men from the neighboring farms made up the patronage of this class of public houses.

The landlords of these taverns were a peculiar race, brought forth by the times, and many of them exercised great power in political and county affairs, noteworthy examples of whom were General Joshua Evans, of the Paoli, and Col. A. E. Finley, of the Stage.

The earliest information in reference to the establishment of and customs at these inns, known to the writer, are several letters written early in March, 1795, shortly after the completion of the turnpike. This writer says: "I sat out from Philadelphia on horseback, and arrived at Lancaster at the end of the second day's journey. The road between Philadelphia and Lancaster has lately undergone a thorough repair, and tolls are levied upon it to keep it in order, under the direction of a company. This is the first attempt to have a turnpike road in Pennsylvania, and it is by no means relished by the people at large particularly by the wagoners, who go in great numbers by this route to Philadelphia from the back parts of the State. On the whole road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, there are not any two dwellings standing together, excepting at a small place called Downing's Town, which lies about midway. The taverns along this turnpike road are kept by farmers, and they are all very indifferent. If the traveller can procure a few eggs with a little bacon, he ought to rest satisfied; it is twenty to one that a bit of fresh meat is to be had, or any salted meat except pork. Vegetables

seem also to be very scarce, and when you do get any, they generally consist of turnips, or turnip tops boiled by way of greens.

"The bread is heavy and sour, though they have as fine flour as any in the world; this is owing to their method of making of it; they raise it with what they call 'sots'; hops and water boiled together.

"The traveller on his arrival is shown into a room which is common to every person in the house, and which is generally the one set apart for breakfast, dinner and supper. All the strangers that happen to be in the house sit down to these meals promiscuously, and the family of the house also forms a part of the company. It is seldom that a single bed room can be procured, but it is not always that even this is to be had, and those who travel through the country must often submit to be crammed into rooms where there is scarcely sufficient space to walk between the beds. No dependence is to be placed upon getting a man at these taverns to rub down your horse, or even to give him his food, frequently therefore you will have to do every thing of the kind for yourself if you do not travel with a servant, and indeed even where men are kept for the purpose of attending to travelers, which at some of the taverns is the case, they are so sullen and disobliging that you feel inclined to do everything with your own hands rather than be indebted to them for their assistance; they always appear doubtful whether they should do anything for you or not, nor will money make them alter their conduct.

"It is scarcely possible to go one mile on this road without meeting numbers of wagons passing and repassing between the back parts of the State and Philadelphia. These wagons are commonly drawn by four or five horses,

four of which are yoked in pairs. The wagons are heavy, the horses small and the driver unmerciful; the consequence of which is, that in every team, nearly, there is a horse either lame or blind. The Pennsylvanians are notorious for the bad care which they take of their horses. Except the night be tempestuous, the wagoners never put their horses under shelter, and then it is only under a shed. Each tavern is usually provided for this purpose. Food for the horses is always carried in the wagon and the moment they stop they are unyoked and fed whilst they are warm. By this treatment half the poor animals are foundered. Most people travel on horseback with pistols or swords and a large blanket folded up under their saddle which they use for sleeping in." Michaux who went over the road a few years later in 1802 draws a similar picture. There was apparently but little if any improvement during the seven years which had elapsed. He states: "The taverns along the road are almost everywhere very bad, nevertheless, rum, brandy and whiskey are always to be had, these articles of provision being considered as being of the first necessity, and the profits of those who keep taverns arise principally from the liquors of which there is a very great consumption. At breakfast they serve up bad tea, worse coffee and small slices of fried ham, to which are sometimes added eggs and boiled fowl. Dinner —a piece of salt beef and roast fowls, with rum and water for drink; at night coffee, tea and ham. There are always several beds in the rooms in which they sleep, while sheets are seldom met with; happy the traveller who arrives on the day they are changed."

As to table manners it was the usual custom for guests to reach across the table, or across three or four persons sitting next to them when they wished for some particular

dish. It was also the custom at these inns to do the carving with one's own knife and fork, or spoon when wanting sugar; in other words the patrons of the dining room helped and looked out for themselves, and it was understood to be each man's duty to see that he got at least his share of the meal, even if he did choke to death on the first mouthful of meat, as was the case once at the old "Stage."

During the latter part of the first quarter of the century there was on the entire length of the turnpike an almost unbroken procession of the ponderous Conestoga wagons, each drawn by five or six strong horses, on which was transported all the merchandise destined for the interior, and the extensive travel thus created and concentrated upon this once splendid highway stands without parallel in the history of transportation in the country previous to the introduction of steam power. In contrast with the present methodical system of transportation the following advertisement, in 1818, of an old forwarder may prove of interest to the present generation. It reads:

THOMAS M. SOUDER

HAVING OPENED A STORE

No. 312 Market Street

For the reception of Merchandise to be transported to the

WESTERN COUNTRY IN WAGONS,

offers his services to the Merchants generally to take charge of their goods to be forwarded to Pittsburgh or any part of the western Country. He flatters himself that by his attention and the experience he has acquired he will be enabled to give general satisfaction.

There were two occurrences which were always sure to break the monotony of the daily routine at these inns and which would empty the barroom of its inmates in an exceedingly short time. One of these events was the competition between the rival stage coach lines. These races were of common occurrence on the turnpike in fine weather, and the favorite coach would always be sure of a cheer from the motley throng assembled on the tavern porch, as the foaming steeds dashed by the inn. The other event was the arrival or departure of the accommodation stage. This, as its name implies, stopped at all points wherever a passenger beckoned to the driver. These stages stopped at most all wagon taverns along the road. They were patronized as it were principally by parties who were going but a short distance, or those who could not afford to travel by either "post" or "mail." This sort of stage was generally a two-horse vehicle, the driver was also on terms of intimacy with both host and frequenters of these inns. Another source of revenue of the driver was the carrying of parcels or packages between any points on his route. These parcels would be delivered for a small remuneration and the custom was in fact the precursor of the present "Express" system.

Travel in these stages was anything but comfortable, no matter how pleasant it was in one of the large four-horse mail stages; this was particularly the case in wet weather. A traveler giving his experience says: first, his feet got wet, and his clothing became plastered with mud from the wheel, the curtains not being tight; then the men's coats and boots commenced to steam in the confined coach, the horses draggled and chaffed by the traces, while the driver got soaked both inside and outside, while his temper was tried and found wanting. Still the tribulations of the

traveler in the stage wagon were insignificant in comparison with what awaited the traveler in an "accommodation" sleigh, which was substituted for the stage when the ground was covered with snow to a depth which precluded the stage from making headway. This sleigh was often a machine gotten up for the nonce, and consisted merely of rough boards nailed together in the form of an oblong box, with a drapery and roof of common muslin. There were narrow cross boards for seats, on which the passengers were compelled to sit bolt upright, without any support of any kind. This was not comfortable, but when the snow was smooth and firm, the machine rattled on very fast and smoothly over the icy road.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the travel in winter on the turnpike were heavy snow storms; these often interrupted stage as well as wagon travel for days at a time, the mails as well as travelers being often detained at roadside inns for days on account of the deep drifts. The two greatest snow storms on record since the building of the turnpike were probably January 23, 1804, and the one in January, 1831; the latter is known as the great snow storm. It commenced on the night of the 14th of January and continued without intermission until about noon on the 16th, during which time it is supposed the snow fell to an average depth of three feet. The wind was very high during the storm and the snow drifted in many places into banks over twenty feet high. Occupants of stage coaches and wagons who were on the road and were overtaken by the storm were forced to abandon their vehicles, leave them in the road and seek shelter for themselves and animals from the elements at the nearest inn or farm house, and in many cases when, after the storm had ceased and the parties went out to remove the stages or wagons,

no sign of them could be found, the drifts having completely covered them up. On the turnpike the snow in many places had so drifted to fill up hollows and form banks in many places from five to ten feet high, rendering the road impassable. This of course stopped all transportation for almost two weeks; and notwithstanding the herculean efforts made by the mail contractors to open communication it was a week before the first mail arrived at Lancaster from Philadelphia. After the snow had ceased the contractors at once attempted to force the road from the Schuylkill to the Spread Eagle with several companies of horsemen of from twenty to thirty in each party, but so deep were the drifts that, with the violence of the wind and lightness of the snow, every mark of their progress was immediately obliterated, and the road as impassable as before. At the Lancaster end the situation was even worse. All travel was abandoned for the time being, although every exertion was made to forward the mail. Fifty horses were employed in the vain attempt to break the road in advance of the stage over a distance of nine miles, yet the stage could not proceed, though dragged upon runners by six of the finest horses of the line, one of which perished through exhaustion. An idea of this storm may be formed by the fact that the cut for the railroad in front of the Drove Tavern in Reeseville (Berwyn) which had just been completed (it averaged 22 feet in depth) was so completely filled up with snow as not to be discernible.

This storm was particularly severe on a number of German emigrants who were on the road to Ohio with their families and possessions. They were cared for by the county authorities until the roads were in condition to permit their journey Westward. A gentleman who was

anxious to get to Lancaster at this time thus describes his experience: "I remained a fortnight waiting for a change of weather but it never came, the roads, however, had become quite practicable for traveling and I at length determined on departure. At five o'clock in the morning I accordingly drove to Market street, where I took possession of a place in a sleigh shaped like an omnibus. The snow lay deep on the ground and the weather was cold in the extreme. After some delay the vehicle got into motion. The mail sleigh in which I found myself a passenger was one of the most wretched vehicles imaginable. The wind —a northwester—penetrated the curtains of the machine at a thousand crevices, and charged with particles of snow so fine as to be almost impalpable communicated to the faces of the passengers the sensation of suffering under a hurricane of needles. We breakfasted at a wretched cabaret, and the pretensions of the dinner house were not much greater. The fare, however, though coarse, was abundant, still a traveler, to get on comfortably, must take things as he finds them." In connection with this phenomenal storm, the following description of some of the tribulations which beset the hardy class of men in the inclement season, who handled the reins of the mail coach, will no doubt prove a revelation to many a youth of the present generation: "When the existing circumstance rendered it impossible to proceed further with the stage he (the driver) unloosed the horses and endeavored to take them to the nearest inn, a distance of about a mile and a half. He rode about half a mile when his four horses became imbedded in a snowbank. They were so perfectly chilled that they were almost incapable even of walking, much less of extricating themselves. Under these circumstances, he procured a rail from an adjoining fence,

and dug them out of the snow. He then retraced his steps, depositing three of his horses in a neighboring stable, and with the other continued his journey determined as he said 'to deliver the mail safely at the hazard of his life.' When he arrived at the inn, his eyelashes were cemented together with ice—himself so benumbed that he could scarcely articulate, and his situation so precarious that the most active restoratives were found necessary for his recovery."

The era of transportation by wagon which developed into such large proportions, and in which so much individual capital was invested and required, and gave employment to so large a number of horses and men, may be said to have reached its height about 1830, and from the 18th day of October, 1832, when the first car was drawn over the Columbia Railroad, from Belmont to the West Chester Intersection, we may say that the transition from the Indian "Trail" to the "T—rail" of modern civilization was complete. As far as our vicinity was concerned the decline of the wagon calling was rapid, and as a natural result the patronage of what little travel remained on the turnpike after the railroad fairly got under way was soon absorbed by the more reputable hostelries.

Chairman Miller in his report on Internal Improvements made to the Legislature in 1834, thus sets forth the situation of affairs in this transition period:

> The disposition of men to frequent long established marts, and to travel to them on the beaten path, is not suddenly overcome. Old habits are not readily abandoned; old associations not easily broken up; a sudden transition from one course to another can only be induced from powerfully interesting motives. The trader is frequently interested in the employment of the wagoner. The railroad system is not fully adapted to the demands of a trade, the

extent of which can only be determined by its own development. Delays occur, discontent ensues, the parts of the system are not in harmony with each other; the system is formed and completed, and moves harmoniously and hand in hand with the demands made upon it. The smaller asperities are smoothed down, gradually—the old disappears and the new takes its place, and as the keel boat has been displaced by the steamboat on the waters of the West, so will (but not to the same extent), the wagons disappear and be displaced by the railroad car on the line of the railroad.

The hardy wagoners got up a song upon the loss of their occupation, a verse of which ran:

"Oh, 'tis once I made money by driving my team,
But now all is hauled on the railroad by steam.
May the devil catch the man that invented the plan,
For its ruined us poor wagoners and every other man."

By the "every other man" were meant the inn keepers, blacksmiths, hostlers and such others who depended on the travel on the turnpike for a livelihood.

The following wail published about seventy years ago will form an appropriate close to this sketch:

"Not only have the Conestoga teams disappeared but the stage. Alas! the stage horn no longer is heard—the bounding wheels no longer rattle over the white compact road.

"No more the weary stager dreads
The toil of the coming morn;
No more the bustling landlord runs
At the sound of the echoing horn,
The old turnpike is now left alone,
And the stagers have sought the plow.
We have circled the earth with an iron rail,
And the Steam King rules us now."

PHOTO BY JULIUS F. SACHSE, 1886.

"THE PAOLI."

VIEW FROM THE WEST.

"THE GENERAL PAOLI"

AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE TURNPIKE AND THE COLUMBIA RAILROAD.

IN the early part of the eighteenth century while yet Anne reigned over England there arrived in the Delaware river a staunch ship, name of craft and master long forgotten, with a number of Welsh emigrants, who had been allured from their native shores by the fair and seductive promises of Wm. Penn and his agents. These people came to the new world in the hope of bettering their condition, supposing they were to have here a barony of their own; they possibly also expected like many of their fellows who had preceded them to these trackless wilds, to find kinsfolk in the Indians, who they were told by their local sagas and legends were descended from their countrymen, who were supposed to have settled two colonies in the western world as far back as the twelfth century, under the leadership of Prince Madog, the youngest son of

Owain Gwynedd, a King of Wales. This tradition was further strengthened by the supposed or fancied similarity between the language of the Leni Lenape and the ancient "British" tongue, which was the only language in use among the rural Welsh. Among these emigrants, who thus landed on our shores was a little family group, from "Merionethshire"; they were first cousins, and all of one family, forty-two in number. Our records unfortunately fail to inform us how many of this remarkable family were either left behind in Wales or died during the long voyage across the stormy Atlantic.

This family group soon after their arrival scattered themselves through the Welsh tract in Chester county, mainly in the great valley, others again settled on portions of what is known as Montgomery county, at that time, however, part of Philadelphia county. Their settlements can still be traced by the Welsh names given to their new homes at the purchase of the land.

These settlers brought little to this country in the way of worldly possessions; in many instances their entire fortune besides a few household goods, and the means to purchase a plantation, consisted solely in their rugged constitutions and their "Pedigree," which by the aid of the prefix "ap" they traced back to the original Adam of old.

One of the most prominent of this family group was one William Evans, who we find in 1719 purchased a plantation of five hundred acres in the upper portion of the "Welsh Tract" located on the south valley hill in the southwestern part of the township of Tre: yr: Dyffryn, signifying in their musical language "Stony Valley." William Evans was a blacksmith by trade and here started the first smithy in the vicinity. His shop and house, which was probably a rude log structure, was located near the

old bridle path to Conestoga which was the precursor of the old Lancaster road. From the earliest time he was a man of considerable importance in the infant settlement, and he appears as a vestryman together with his neighbor, Anthony Wain (Wayne) the immigrant, in the first regular vestry formed in 1725 at the old Welsh Church in the lower end of the Welsh Tract (St. David's, Radnor). His son, Joshua Evans, born 1732, was probably the builder of the oldest part of the present stone tavern, which at that time, though a small and unpretending structure, was destined to become famous and known far and near, and to have a name in history as long as the country shall last. It was the sign-board of this house which gave the name to the barbarous affair during the Revolution, on the night of September 21, 1777, although the massacre took place much nearer to the Admiral Warren than to the subject of our sketch. The name of "Paoli" is always associated with the unfortunate affair. This was really the result of the accidental naming and locating the house on the military map drawn just after the action by order of General Grey, and afterwards published in London during the following year.

The house at the time of the Revolution was a small unpretentious two-story affair, with small windows and low ceilings and, as near as can now be determined after the lapse of one hundred and thirty-five years, covered a space of about 42 x 30 feet. Remnants of the original building can still be seen. The house when built faced the ancient road leading from the Yellow Springs to Newtown Square and known as the Darby road. It is also said to have been a former Indian trail. This road crossed the old Lancaster road at an angle at this point. The house stood some distance north of the old Lancaster road, now

supplanted by the turnpike. The course of the former road can still be traced through the hollow where the pumping station stands, thence westward up the hill by a row of cedars just back of the Church of the Good Samaritan. The house did not appear as a landmark until long after the Revolution.

In the August session of the Court of General Quarter Sessions held at Chester in 1769, the following petition was presented to the Judges:

"The petition of Joshua Evans Humbly Showeth. That whereas there is no house of public entertainment between the Yellow Springs and the Square in Newtown, on the road leading through a large body of the upper part of this country by the Valley Church[1] to Chester, Darby, &c., which is too great a distance for one stage, being fourteen miles apart, and of consequence must be attended with great disadvantage to the large concourse of people passing that way and as your petitioner has a very commodious house situated in the township of Tredyffrin, on Lancaster road, where the aforesaid road meets with the same, as the great road leading down through Newtown to Darby and Chester branches therefrom, and as your petitioner humbly considers a public house in the aforesaid place would be of great use not only to those passing to Chester and Darby, but also to travelers going and coming that way from Philadelphia, &c., &c., your petitioner therefore humbly requests your Honors to recommend him to his Honor, the Governor, for a license to keep a public house of entertainment in the aforesaid place and your petitioner as duty bound shall ever pray.

(Signed) JOSHUA EVANS.

The recommenders signing this document were Anthony Wayne, Lewis Gronow and sixteen others, most all of them being prominent members of the Valley Church.[1]

The petition, however, it is said was strenuously opposed by the widow Weatherby of the Blue Ball, one mile east of the new candidate for public patronage, as well as by Lynford Lardner, the landlord of the Admiral Warren, two and a half miles further west, who in his petition to the Court in 1770 sets forth that he was but three and a half miles from the Blue Ball, and that there was no necessity for the new tavern which had been set up in the previous year between his place and the Ball.

Notwithstanding this strong opposition to the recommendation of Evans for license, the Judges seem to have thought that an inn was necessary at this point, and the application was endorsed "allowed"; they were probably influenced in their action by the good character of the applicant, together with the known respectability of his recommenders.

No doubt the patriotic spirit then rife in the province had something to do with the selection of the name of the inn. The new tavern was called "The General Paoli Tavern."

It was named after Pascal Paoli, a Corsican General and patriot, who at that time was living in exile in England, and who though unsuccessful was still the ideal patriot and champion of liberty of the day.

In 1755 Paoli had been elected generalissimo of the Corsicans, who were then struggling against the Genoese; he waged the war so successfully as to confine the enemy within the narrow limits of their fortified seaports. His next care was to enact wise laws, introduce reforms, and encourage agriculture. But all his noble labors were rendered abortive by the Genoese selling the Island to France. After a heroic struggle against the invaders Paoli once more became an exile. Very little is known of the Paoli

tavern during the first years of its existence; it was not until the outbreak of the Revolution that the new tavern came into prominence, owing to the proximity of the house to the homes of Anthony Wayne, Rev. David Jones, the Bartholemews, Andersons, Gronows, Pearces, and other patriotic minded men of the vicinity. The inn soon became a favorite gathering place of the patriots; meetings were held, when the affairs of the province and the situation were talked over and plans laid for future action.

No records remain us as to the losses sustained by the owner of the Paoli while the country was overrun by the British after the battle of the Brandywine, in September, 1777. The history of the affair on the night of the 20th of September, one and a half miles southwest of the inn, known in history as the "Massacre of Paoli," is too well known to repeat here. On that eventful night were two regiments of British troops (the fortieth and fifty-fourth infantry) under the command of Colonel Musgrave, stationed at the road crossing here, so as to intercept the patriots should they attempt to retreat in this direction; these troops were not in action during that night.

After Philadelphia was evacuated by the British forces in June, 1778, the Paoli, together with all the roadside inns on the way to Lancaster, commenced to reap the harvest caused by the great increase of travel on the great road from Philadelphia.

It was no doubt about this time that the first addition was made to the house. This addition is still discernible in the rear of the large house; it was built of limestone or blue marble of the Valley, the joints were pointed; it was about 27 x 30 feet and the house still fronted on the Valley road, the gable end being towards the Provincial road.

This enlargement became necessary on account of the

THE BIRTHPLACE AND HOME OF GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

ONE-HALF MILE SOUTH OF THE "PAOLI."

increased demand upon the landlord, the house at that early day already having attained a reputation for clean beds and good cheer for man and beast.

The following curious extract relating to the Paoli is from the diary of William Priest, who was a musician and a member of the Philadelphia theater in 1794–6 and it well illustrates the local gossip of the times:

"August 10, 1794, we slept about a mile from the 'Pioli,' I took a walk to reconnoitre the field of battle, with one who was present at that horrid affair."

"General Wayne was completely surprised, but had his revenge at Stony Point.[1] I spent the evening at the 'Pioli,' with a surgeon of the American army lately from the scene of action; he gave me a disgusting account of the misunderstanding that subsists between the American citizen on the frontier, and their neighbors in Upper Canada. It seems the Canadians are accused of assisting the Indians in their decisive action against 'St. Clare.'"

It was not until after the completion of the turnpike in 1794 that the era of great prosperity of Paoli commenced.

Local tradition gives to General Anthony Wayne the credit while a member of the General Assembly of the State, 1784–6, of offering the first resolution relating to the improvement of the roads and inland navigation of the State.

The turnpike was located so as to run directly in front of the tavern, and as the old road was vacated for a considerable distance in both directions it naturally brought all the traffic upon the new highway directly to the house.

This great road, the first of its kind in America, was 62¼ miles long, twenty-four feet of the bed was covered with a stratum of pounded stone eighteen inches thick in

[1] St. Peter's P. E. Church (Great Valley).

the middle of the road, and decreasing each way to twelve inches. The valley hill was the most elevated and steep on the road but the angle of ascent nowhere exceeded four degrees; the highest point on the road is the top of the hill just west of the Paoli, and is said to be six hundred feet above tide water.

The act incorporating the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company was approved by Gov. Mifflin April 9, 1792, and states that

"Whereas the great quantity of heavy articles of the growth and produce of the country and of foreign goods which are daily transported between the city of Philadelphia and the western counties of the State requires an amendment of the highway, which can only be effected by artificial beds of stone and gravel disposed in such a manner as to prevent the wheels of carriages from cutting into the soil, the expenses whereof will be great, and it is reasonable that those who will enjoy the benefits of such highway should pay a compensation therefor, and there is reason to believe that such highway will be undertaken by an association of citizens if proper encouragement be given by the Legislature."

"Elliston Perot, Henry Drinker, jr., Owen Jones, jr., Israel Whelen and Cadwallader Evans, of Philadelphia, and Edward Hand, John Hubley, Paul Zantzinger, Mathias Slough and Abraham Witmer, of the County of Lancaster, were appointed Commissioners to open books and receive subscriptions to the stock, the par value of each share being $300, after notice had been given in two English and one German paper in Philadelphia and the paper printed at Lancaster, for one calendar month of the time and places when and where the books were to be open to receive subscriptions. On these days the Commissioners were obliged to attend and permit and suffer all persons who shall offer to subscribe in the said books, which were to be kept open at least six hours in every Judicial day, for three days if necessary; on the first of these days, any person, of the age of twenty-one years shall be

at liberty to subscribe for one share; on the second day, for one or two shares; on the third, for one, two or three shares; if not all taken by the end of the third day the Commissioners were empowered to adjourn until all shares are subscribed when the books are to be closed. Each subscriber was required to pay a deposit of thirty dollars per share."

The annual meetings of the new company were held on the second Monday in each year at such places as decided on by the stockholders. Section VIII. authorized the surveyors, etc., of the company to enter into and upon all and every, the lands, tenements and enclosures, through and over which the said intended turnpike may be thought proper to pass, etc. The course to be pursued in making the road was to combine shortness of distance with the most practicable ground from the west side of the Schuylkill, opposite Philadelphia, so as to pass near to or over the bridge on Brandywine creek, near Downing'stown, from thence to Witmer's bridge, on Conestoga creek, thence to the east end of King street, where the buildings cease in the borough of Lancaster.

From among the curious provisions and regulations, as set forth in the Act incorporating the company the following are selected:

By Section IX. the employers or agents of the company were authorized to enter upon the lands in, over, continuous, and near to which the route and track of the intended road shall pass to dig, take and carry away any stone, gravel, sand or earth there being most conveniently situated for making or repairing the said road.

The next section gives authority for the construction of permanent bridges wherever necessary; it further states that the company "shall cause a road to be laid out fifty

feet wide, twenty-one feet whereof in breadth at least shall be bedded with wood, stone, gravel or any other hard substance, well compacted together a sufficient depth to secure a solid foundation to the same; and the said road shall be faced with gravel or stone pounded in such manner as to secure a firm even surface, rising towards the middle by a graded arch, and so nearly level in its progress as that it shall in no place rise or fall more than will form an angle of four degress with a horizontal line.

Tolls were authorized to be established and collected at the completion of every ten miles of road, after a favorable report of same had been made to the Governor by three skillful and judicious examiners.

The company were empowered to appoint their toll gatherers who had the right to stop any person from passing over the turnpike until they had paid their toll. Tolls were all based on a stretch of ten miles, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser distance, viz.:

For every score of Sheep,	1/8	dollar.
" " " Hogs,	1/8	"
" " " Cattle,	1/4	"
" " Horse and rider, or led Horse,	1-16	"
" " Sulkey, Chair, or Chaise with one horse and two wheels,	1/8	"
" " Chariot, Coach, Stage, Wagon, Phaeton, or Chaise, with 2 horses and four wheels,	1/4	"
" Either of the Carriages last mentioned, with four horses,	3/8	"

For every other Carriage of pleasure, under whatever name it may go, the like sums, according to the number of wheels and horses drawing the same.

For every Cart or Wagon whose wheels do not exceed the

breadth of four inches, ⅛ dollar for each horse drawing the same.

For every Cart or Wagon whose wheels shall exceed in breadth four inches, and not exceed seven inches, 1-16 dollar for every horse drawing the same.

For every cart or wagon, the breadth of whose wheels shall be more than seven and not more than ten inches, or being of the breadth of seven inches shall roll more than 10 inches, five cents for every horse drawing the same.

Where the breadth shall be more than 10 inches and not exceed 12 inches, or being 10 shall roll more than 15 inches three cents for every horse.

For every cart or wagon where the breadth of wheel shall be more than 12 inches two cents for every horse drawing the same.

Between December 1 and May 1, no wagon with four wheels, having less than four inches breadth of tire was to be leaded over 2½ tons,

From four to seven inch tire 3½ tons,
" seven to ten " 5 "

For carts with two wheels the limit was
under four inches 1¼ tons
From " to seven inches 1½ tons,
" seven to ten " 3 "

From the first of May to December 1 the limit was about one half ton more to the wagon or cart.

It was further ordered, that no cart, wagon or carriage of burden whatsoever whose wheels shall not be the breadth of nine inches at least, shall be drawn or pass over the said road or any part thereof, with more than six horses, nor shall more than eight horses be attached to any carriage whatsoever, used on the said road; and if any wagon or other carriage shall be drawn along the said road by a greater number of horses, or with a greater weight, than is hereby permitted, "one of the horses attached thereto shall be forfeited to the use of said Com-

pany to be seized and taken by any of their officers or servants, who shall be at liberty to choose which of the said horses they may think proper, excepting the shaft or wheel horse or horses."

In charging tolls two oxen were estimated as one horse, "and every mule as equal to one horse."

Section XVIII. authorized the managers to increase above tolls if at the expiration of two years the profits did not amount to six per cent. At the end of ten years a report was to be rendered to the Assembly, of their accounts for the three preceding years, and if it should appear that the clear profits and income would bear a dividend of more than 15 per cent. per annum the tolls were to be reduced, so as to reduce the dividend down to 15 per cent. per annum.

The company was further enjoined to erect posts and sign-boards at all intersections, also to place milestones on the roadside beginning at a distance of one mile from the east side of the Schuylkill; also at every toll gate, a placard placed in a conspicuous position showing in legible characters, the distance from Philadelphia, the distance from the nearest gates in each direction, designating the number of miles and the fractions; also, a printed list of the rates of toll, which, from time to time, may lawfully be amended.

Drivers were ordered to keep the right hand side in the passing direction. The fine for obstructing the road, or passing on the left side was two dollars and costs.

In a subsequent Act approved April 17, 1795, the company were empowered to increase the width of the road to sixty-eight feet. The Act also made it unlawful for the company to demand or receive any toll for a greater distance than shall be actually traveled; it further provided,

that no toll was to be paid by persons for passing on the road upon the business of their adjoining farms.

Before the construction of this road regularity of transportation was impossible, as during the rainy season, or on the breaking up of the frost, wagons were frequently detained on the road sometimes for weeks, and the merchandise conveyed in them was subject to injury from the delay as well as the roughness and dangerous condition of these highways. It was further calculated that the reduction in the expense of transportation, added to the increased value of the lands adjacent to the great turnpike, would amount to more than the cost of its construction.

On the new road broad wheeled wagons, such as were known by the name of "Conestogas," "Turnpike Schooners" or "Pitt teams" were supposed to carry thirty barrels of flour or three tons; the usual freight charged was one dollar per barrel, while the tolls between Philadelphia and Lancaster amounted to three dollars or about one dollar per ton.

Michaux, who traveled over the road in 1802, mentions that the taverns on the road were very numerous, and that the German language was spoken in almost all of them. He further says his fellow travelers were always thirsty, and would stop the stage at every tavern to drink some glasses of grog. This he states was a mixture of brandy and water, or rum and water, the proportions of which depended solely on the taste of each person.

Sutcliff, a public friend, mentions in his journal, 1806, 8th month 27th, "at the inn where I breakfasted, which was the General Paoli tavern, I met with a family who had landed a few days before in Philadelphia, and were now on their way to the Ohio. As they spoke neither English nor French, I was unable to make out from what part

of the continent of Europe they came. The master of the inn informed me that he had reason to believe they had a very large property with them in the wagons in which they traveled."

As the traffic continued to increase the inn again soon became too small, and during the latter part of the first decade of the last century the large addition, 81x38 feet, facing the turnpike was built. It was completed in 1812, the year in which the second war with England was declared. After Governor Simon Snyder issued his proclamation, May 12, 1812, for volunteers, recruiting went on briskly at the Paoli as well as at the other taverns in the vicinity, the result of which was the mustering of the 97th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, into the service of the United States, May 5, 1813.

After the destruction of Washington by the British in 1814 great fears were entertained of an attempt to capture Philadelphia by way of Chester county. Another proclamation was issued by the Governor for the militia. Isaac Wayne, son of the General, was elected Colonel of the Second Regiment Volunteer Light Infantry, but it is said preferred to serve as a private soldier in a company of volunteer cavalry.

Joshua Evans continued to keep the house until April 23, 1814, when he was succeeded by his son Joshua Evans, jr. (born January, 1777), who soon became one of the most prominent and best known men in Chester county; he was a man of singular good sense and judgment, clear intellect, wonderful nerve, and was destined to exercise great power in both county and State; during his whole career he was an uncompromising Democrat of the Jefferson and Jackson school.

It does not appear what part he took, if any, in the war of 1812.

As an illustration of the great amount of travel at this early day it is but necessary to enumerate some of the land stages that passed and stopped at the house in 1814:

1. Baltimore Stage Turnpike Route via Lancaster every Second and Fourth days.
2. Carlisle stage.
3. Columbia stage.
4. Harrisburg Stage Line. Every day—Seventh-day only excepted—at 7 o'clock a. m. from the first of the Twelfth-month (December) to the fifteenth of Fourth-month (April) and five days in the week the remainder of the year. To proceed up the river from Harrisburg direct. Seats to be had on First-day (Sunday) at the stage office, corner High and Eighth streets.
5. The Pittsburg stage via Harrisburg.
6. The Lancaster stage. A daily line leaving High and Eighth streets at 7 o'clock in the morning.
7. York stage.
8. The Valley stage, from 164 High street.
9. West Chester stage, from No. 18 North Fourth street, Third, Fifth and Seventh days at 8 a. m.
10. Westtown School, from No. 80 High street every Fourth and Seventh days.

According to the postoffice regulations in 1812 mail stages were required to carry the mails from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in six ordinary days.

The arrival or departure of the stage coaches was always a matter of considerable excitement around the inn. As one would come thundering up or down the turnpike and draw up in front of the tavern, with its four fine horses

prancing and covered with dust and foam, it would at once become the great center of interest. One of the hostlers would usually have the door of the coach open and be ready to assist the passengers to alight, even before the driver had time to come down from his seat, after throwing his reins to the ready stable boy. While the landlord and habitues of the barroom, the hostlers, stable boys and other hangers-on about the tavern yard would at once rush out, the former to welcome the travelers and possible guests, the latter prompted by idle curiosity, or in the hope of hearing scraps of the news or gossip of the day, as told by the drivers at the bar between "'ere's to your good health," or while waiting for the relays to be substituted for the exhausted steeds. Then followed the embarking of the passengers, after their parting glass, the wishing of "God speed" by the host, the cracking of the driver's whip and on some lines the tooting of the horn, then the journey towards the next relay station commenced at full speed, where the same scenes would be re-enacted, and so on until the end of the journey would be reached. A traveler describing his stop at the Paoli in 1813 says: "A scene of bustle unprecedented by anything I had ever met before, presented itself till midnight, supper was three times spread for at least twenty people, and as the chambers were not very numerous we were under the necessity of agreeing amongst ourselves for bed fellows. My partner was a merchant with whose conversation I had been pleased during the evening and we were shown along the passages to a remote room. We were aroused at four o'clock in the morning to proceed on our journey to the city."

Another writer about the same period says: "At dusk when we stopped at the Paoli to water the horses and

brandy the gentlemen the busy scene round the inn by the roadside with several great four-horse stages pouring forth their cargoes by the dozen would have furnished material for many a page in the sketch book, &c."

The following two advertisements in reference to the war of 1812 and the subject of this sketch appeared in the county paper under their respective dates:

March 16, 1816. I. Wynkop, regimental paymaster, advertises that he "will attend at the house of Joshua Evans, Paoli tavern, on Thursday, the fourth day of April next, to paying Captain Wersler's Company, Second Regt. Penn. Vol. Light Inf."

March 18, 1816. John G. Bull, paymaster of the 65th Pennsylvania Militia advertises that he "has appointed Tuesday, the 26th inst., at the Paoli in Tredyffrin township to meet Captain Campbel's company. Captain Weatherby's company on Wednesday, the 27th, at the same place."

During this year the "Republican Artillerists" were organized of which Joshua Evans at once became a prominent member.

Joshua Evans, the elder, died April 25, 1817. The reputation and prosperity of the Paoli continued to increase from year to year. As a result a number of taverns were established on the turnpike on both sides of the Paoli, the nearest one was the "General Jackson," just east of the Darby road. It was erected and presided over, as has been stated, by Randall Evans, a brother of Joshua. Tradition tells us that there were frequently outbursts of temper between the two brothers, as one would find the other interfering with his regular patrons. Joshua was elected to the State Legislature in 1820. At this period

there were few pieces of property in the State outside of Philadelphia which were more valuable than the Paoli; the house was the gathering place for the surrounding townships, while the patronage from the travelers on the turnpike taxed the house to its fullest extent, so much so that there was very little show for a teamster or wagoner getting any accommodation. Among other enterprises of the proprietor was a large lumber yard on the turnpike east of the house.

In 1825 during Lafayette's visit to America Joshua Evans and Isaac Wayne were both on the committee which waited on the General for the purpose of inviting him to visit Chester county.

It was not until the following year, December 9, 1826, that a postoffice was established at the Paoli. Joshua Evans was appointed the first postmaster.

When, in 1826–7, the question of building the Columbia Railroad was being agitated it was urged by the friends of the enterprise, in furtherance of the project, that the prodigious advantage resulting from science may best be appreciated by reflecting that a weight, which, on an improved railroad, could be transported with facility by the agency of a single horse, would among our red brethren (who preceded us but a little over a century and a quarter) require the laborious application of a thousand "squaw" power to remove. In 1828 the Columbia Railroad was laid out and commenced by the Canal Commissioners of the State by order of an act of the Legislature of that year. This railroad, which is now a part of the great Pennsylvania Railroad system, was first surveyed under the direction of Major John Wilson, but was not finished until 1834. It is said that the first survey of the road was located from Columbia to the "Warren" without much

difficulty, but from that point east great difficulties presented themselves, in finding a favorable route for leaving the Chester Valley. The route as run by Mr. Haines went through the valley from the Warren, north of the valley ridge, by way of Howelltown, recrossing to the south of the ridge a short distance north of the Spread Eagle Tavern; this route would have completely cut the Paoli off from the contemplated new highway.

The road was finally located on the south side of the valley ridge, so as to pass just north of the Paoli Tavern. It is said this conclusion was due to the influence and demands of General Evans, backed by several good dinners. In the meantime Evans had been elected to Congress, wherein he represented the District from 1829–33. The portion of the new road extending fourteen miles west from the "White Hall" was known as the Paoli section, and was constructed under the supervision of Enoch Davis. Following is a copy of the MSS. instructions issued to him for his guidance from the headquarters of the engineer corps at the Buck Tavern.

Instructions to Superintendents.

It will be the duty of the superintendent to see that the stakes set by the assistant engineers are preserved and that the trenches are laid out agreeably to the directions. He will examine the length, depth and width of the trenches, and in no case shall any trench be filled in with broken stone, before it has been examined by the superintendent or before the broken stone has been inspected by the assistant engineer.

The superintendent will attend particularly to the examining of the broken stone, as expressed in the printed specifications.

He will inspect the sleepers as they are distributed on the road, and will suffer none to be laid which he does not consider in con-

formity to the specifications, taking however, the earliest opportunity to report to the assistant engineer having charge of the work, any materials which he may reject.

The superintendent will see that the sleepers are properly bedded and rammed and that the work is executed strictly according to the specifications.

If any directions given by the superintendent are disregarded, he will immediately report to the assistant engineer.

It will be the duty of the superintendent to report all defective work without delay.

E. Div. Colm. & Phila. Railway.

September, 1832.

Specifications for Laying Wooden Rails, Sills.

The wooden sills shall be of chestnut, chestnut oak or white oak free from sap and sound in every respect, seven and a half feet in length, and of sufficient size to square seven inches. They will be dressed flat on the under side and notched out on the upper side for the horse path and for the reception of the string pieces according to the plan and directions of the engineer.

Trenches.

The trenches for the reception of the broken stone shall be four feet apart from centre to centre, one foot in width, sixteen inches in depth and eight feet in length; where the trench is cut in rock the depth need not exceed four inches. The earth excavated from the trenches must be removed from the graded surface of the road and deposited on the slopes of the nearest embankment, the same will be done with the earth taken from the surface of such embankments as may be required to be reduced to the proper grade.

Broken Stone.

The stone upon which the sills are to be bedded, no particle of which must be larger than a cube of two inches, must be approved

by the engineer before being used. No earth, no clay or material must be suffered to be mixed with the broken stone.

Layings.

The position, vertical and horizontal, of the track will be given at convenient distances by the Engineer; the contractor completing the levels and curvatures required.

The width and depth of the trenches having been formed as above mentioned, broken stone to the depth of four inches will be put in, and well compacted with a heavy rammer; more may then be added, but in no case shall more than four inches be put in without being thus compacted.

The sills may now be laid, and firmly adjusted to the proper level with a wooden rammer; the string pieces can be placed in the notches, and keyed up; the inner edges chamfered off one inch, and the iron base put agreeably to the directions of the engineer. The broken stone will then be placed on the horsepath so that the track may be finished for use.

The keys may be of white oak or yellow pine, one foot in length, two inches in height, and one and a half inches thick, tapering to three-quarters. It is expected that every part of the work will be executed in a faithful and workmanship manner; no indifferent or careless work will be estimated or received.

As will be seen by above specifications the railway of eighty years ago was entirely different from the present magnificent highway, with its quadruple tracks, and elaborate system of automatic switches and block signals; the railway as first constructed consisted of a single track formed partly of stone sills, and partly of wooden rails, plated with flat bars of iron. The space between the rails being filled in with broken stone for the horses to travel on, as the rails were but a small distance above the horse track, the consequence was that pieces of the "stuffing"

were continually coming in contact with the wheels to the great disadvantage of the draught. Another serious difficulty which presented itself, while the road was run by horse power upon the highway principle, was the regulating of the speed of the different trains. It is well known that scarcely two teams can be found to propel the same weight with equal speed, and that a horse when loaded should not travel faster than two and one half miles per hour to produce this maximum effect, while the passenger cars were expected to make about eight miles an hour if they were to supersede the "Land Stages" on the Turnpike. Another great obstacle in the way of uniform speed was the constantly varying grade of the Columbia railroad; a fact which further enhanced the difficulty in proportion to the increased length of road traveled, the power of the horses being constantly impaired by the fatigue of their muscles made frequent relays necessary. Consequently, the attempt to make all cars travel at a uniform rate of speed proved an absolute failure from the start.

The first car passed over the new road October 18, 1832, from Belmont to the West Chester intersection (Malvern). It carried the United States mail and thirty passengers, and was drawn by two horses. It took the place of the Lancaster mail coach between these points. It was not until Christmas, 1833, that the first car passed from Broad and Vine streets to West Chester.

These early cars were small four wheel affairs, somewhat like the present "Tally-ho" four-in-hand coaches. They were drawn by two horses tandem, and known as "Fly Coaches" or "Fire Flies." Seats for passengers were arranged inside as well as outside on the top of the car, with a seat for the driver at each end of the car.

These cars remained in use for several years. A short time after steam became the motive power they were abandoned as the smoke and sparks from the engine made it impossible for passengers to ride with comfort on top of the cars.

One of the first rules issued to the collectors under date of February 6, 1834, reads: "You are hereby informed that the proprietors or agents of cars will not be allowed to use two horses abreast upon the Columbia and Philadelphia Railway. This method of propelling cars is injurious to the railway and you will therefore consider it a part of your duty to enforce the law in case the above rule should be violated. Signed, EDW. J. GRAY, Engineer."

From the official report to the Legislature we find that from Oct. 18 to Nov. 2, 1832, thirteen hundred and twenty-two passengers were transported over the road.

The Paoli now became the terminus of the Pittsburg stage coaches, the travelers being taken to and from Philadelphia on the horse cars on the railroad; this lasted but for a short time as, on account of the rivarly between the two brothers, it was found necessary by the proprietors of the coach line to remove their terminus to the Green Tree tavern, about one mile further west. Turnouts were located at convenient points and "half-way posts" were planted between every two turnouts, the regulation being that when two cars from opposite directions came on the section the car passing the half-way post first had the right of way, the other cars on the section having to hitch their horses to the rear end of the car and retrace their steps and pull on to the next turnout. This matter gave rise to considerable trouble between the opposing drivers, and in November, 1834, caused a serious accident to two passenger cars, just west of Paoli. It was about noon when two

cars were approaching each other, with great speed on the same tracks, the post being between them. As they approached that point, the horses were lashed for the victory, and though as they approached each other, the brakes were put down, it was impossible to stop them. The horses sprang aside and the cars came together with tremendous force, breaking in their fronts and strongest timbers, producing the utmost consternation and distress among the passengers, and seriously wounding such as were most exposed. One gentleman sitting on the driver's seat received the opposite car against his knee, and was probably seriously hurt. The Rev. Dr. Neil received a violent blow upon his head, which seriously affected him through the day. The wounded passengers were taken to Philadelphia in another car.

Although the building of the railroad eventually had a disastrous effect upon the turnpike hostelries, it was different with the Paoli; the tact and influence of General Evans was exerted to so great an extent, as to make the inn one of the most important stopping places on the new highway; as well as having the office of the first toll collector west of Philadelphia located here. This building, still standing, is the house just east of the railroad bridge, directly back of the present Paoli station. Consequently at the meeting of the Canal Commissioners held at Harrisburg, March 12, 1834, "Enoch Davis was unanimously appointed collector upon the Columbia railway at the Paoli"; further ordered that he shall be allowed fifty dollars per month as a full compensation for his services, and that as soon as weigh scales are completed at his office, he perform the duties of weigh master, and weigh all burden cars using said railway. A postscript on his commission from

the Governor reads: "Present me kindly to my friend General Evans when you see him."

From the official "Rates of Toll" we learn that the charges for use of the road were:

On each burden car per mile,	1	cent	0	mills.
do do passenger car per mile,	2	do	0	do.
do do baggage car per mile,	2	do	0	do.
do on each passenger over 12 years of age, transported in a car, of any description, per mile,	1	do	0	do.
On each passenger between 6 and 12 years of age, per mile,	0	do	5	do.

All freight was charged at so much per 1000 lbs per mile, usually from 5 mills to two cents per mile.

Davis remained in office until March, 1836, during which time the tolls and fines collected by him at Paoli amounted to $16,454.73; fines and treble tolls constitute quite an item in the above amount.

John Williams, John Rowan and Isaac Powell were successively appointed as "Collectors of tolls and fines" for the State at this point.

It was not long before General Evans constructed a private siding at the Paoli and urged his neighbors to use the road as a means of taking their products to market. Other parties along the line were not slow in following the example set by General Evans, and in a short time there were over twenty private sidings between the Paoli and the inclined plane at Belmont. But after a short trial it was found that nothing was more detrimental to the reputation of the experimental road than this indiscriminate use of the highway by the inhabitants residing along the line; the multitude of small cars, the horses traveling at a

degree of speed to suit the driver, soon caused so many vexatious delays as to make the road almost useless for passenger travel.

For several years both horse and steam power were used. This led to numerous complications, accidents and collisions, and as the road continued to grow in popularity with all parties, it was soon manifest that steam would have to supplant horse power at an early date, so the south track was relaid with cross ties and T-rails for the use of locomotives, while the individual cars drawn by horses were relegated to the north track with its granite blocks and wooden sills. It was not until after 1840 that locomotives became the exclusive motive power.

General Evans, at the first introduction of steam, had a wood and water station located on his property near the tavern. This was no sooner done than Randall in opposition to Joshua erected a large water tank for the use of the engines on the railroad just back of his inn the "General Jackson." This caused the rivalry between the two brothers to break out again with all the rancor of old; however, Randall's efforts seemed futile as Joshua carried the day.

Wood at that early day was the only fuel used for the locomotives. After the establishment of this depot, the farmers soon found a lucrative business in supplying the State with cord wood during their dull season; the yard also gave employment to a number of wood sawyers. Queer tales are still current in the vicinity about some old stumps and logs which it appears were regularly corded over and over again at the expense of the State by the favored few who were in the ring. All trains stopped to "wood up" as well as to take in water; on such occasions

both passengers and crew would go into the inn for lunch and refreshments.

During the latter part of Gen. Evans's time the Paoli was also the polling place for the five adjoining townships, viz.:

Tredyffrin, Easttown, East Whiteland, Willistown and Charlestown. It was not an uncommon occurrence for over five hundred persons to be in and about the inn on an election day, while on the day of a grand "Democratic Rally" the horses and vehicles could be counted by the hundreds and the attendants by the thousands. The American flag with its twenty-six stars, used at the Paoli, during the two Jackson campaigns was still in good condition not many years ago and was unfurled during recent campaigns in Tredyffrin. Large sales and vendues were also frequently cried at the inn.

Shortly before the death of General Evans, in 1846, the patronage by way of the railroad increased to so great an extent as to necessitate the erection of a separate barroom to accommodate the traveling public. While the inn proper became known as a favorite summer resort and boarding house, some of Philadelphia's most prominent citizens spending the summer there year after year.

The new building was erected facing the railroad, where the Valley road formerly crossed at grade. It had two stories and porches in the front and rear; the upper room was used for meetings and parties, while the lower room was used as a bar and lunch room, the bar extended along the south and west side of the room. The latter was devoted to the postoffice and the sale of liquors. The wall back of the bar was laid out in three panels with a large full length figure of Shakespeare and Milton in the two end panels. The counter on the south side was used for

lunch and coffee. Whenever a train arrived, at the call of the train hands of "all out, five minutes for refreshments," the passengers would rush to the bar, through the four large doors facing the track, until the room was packed, but even those within reach of the counter would hardly have time to gulp down their coffee and doughnut or sandwich before the bell would ring and the train start at the command "all aboard," while the passengers were left to scramble into the cars with their luncheon in their hands as best they were able.

One of the earliest recollections the writer has of this barroom is watching the mechanics while covering the floor with a heavy sheet of zinc, fastened down with large brass headed nails. The large egg-shaped stove stood in a box of sand in the center of the floor, while in a circle around the stove there was formed by driving nails through large copper cents of the period, in large capitals, the well known watchword of "Mad Anthony," "REMEMBER PAOLI!"

When John D. Evans succeeded to the ownership of the inn at the death of his father, the activity and bustle at the Paoli was probably not equaled at any similar establishment in the State.

Previous to 1836, when steam supplanted the uncertain horse-power, the second track had been completed and the new road continued to grow in public favor and it soon became a part of the system (in fact) of communication between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, in connection with the State canals. The boats used on the canals for carrying both freight and passengers were built in three or four sections; these sections were floated on or off the trucks at the respective termini of the railroad. It was a curious sight to see a locomotive drawing a train of these sections,

JOHN D. EVANS.

THE LAST PROPRIETOR OF THE "PAOLI."

the bodies of which were invariably painted white, while the cabin windows were hung with Turkey red curtains and could be closed with green slat shutters.

After the sale of the State improvements to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. by the State in 1855, Paoli was made the terminus for local trains, an engine house and turntable were built a little northwest of the station for the purpose of turning an entire train.

The cottage resident who now goes daily over the present magnificent road on the Paoli or Bryn Mawr express in a little over thirty minutes, from Paoli to the city, can little picture to himself the first local trains, or how we rejoiced at the two hour schedule to and from the city, and when shortly after the war the time from 31st and Market to Paoli was reduced to one and a half hours, we thought the utmost rate of speed had been attained; also how some of the more timid passengers shook their heads and complained to the conductors about the reckless speed of the two Paoli trains as they would swing around the old double curves between the Eagle and Paoli. When chain brakes were first tried on the locomotives in 1870, even some of the brakemen refused to go on the trains so equipped and were transferred to other trains, where the "Iron" was yet twisted by hand. The early commutation ticket was a somewhat different affair from the present handy three months' folder. The fact was when bought at the first of the month the ticket was a string of coupons over four feet long, and the coupon was no good unless detached by the conductor.

One of the best known characters usually to be found at the Paoli, when not on the local trains, was a half-breed Indian "Theodore Plumbly"; he was the first person to regularly supply travelers on the road, or residents along

the line, with Philadelphia newspapers on the morning of the day on which they were published. Plumbly was well known to all regular riders. His tall spare figure, dark eyes, prominent features and jet black hair always worn in a roll turned up over his collar, will be easily recalled by anyone who ever saw him. In some things he was very eccentric; if he took a dislike to a person no money could induce him to supply that person with a paper. His feet and hands were exceedingly small, and he was known far and near for his agility. The writer has frequently seen him jump on or off an express train while going at full speed around the old curve at Paoli; he would seem to leap up in the air before alighting on his feet; frequently he would have a large bundle of papers under his arm at the time. Plumbly was also an expert runner; his boast was that he could beat any horse into the city from Paoli. If he missed a morning train, which was frequently the case, more especially on Sundays, he would think nothing of starting up the pike, deliver his papers occasionally as far as Downingtown, and trot back to the Paoli, where he would spend the balance of the afternoon. Plumbly died October 29, 1878.

During the Centennial year the old inn yard and stables were once more crowded, more so than they had been for many a year. On some days there would be almost two hundred vehicles left there. Still nothing worthy of special mention occurred at the Paoli until the week following Sunday, July 22, 1877, when the railroad riots broke out in Pittsburgh. A number of hands were working on the road at this point, and threats were soon made against the company's property. However, the firm action and counsels of a few prominent residents together with the encampment of the "Washington Troop" in the vicinity nipped the

incipient riot in the bud. On September 21 of this year the centennial anniversary of the massacre took place on the grounds. The residents of Tredyffrin and Easttown assembled at the inn in the morning and marched to the grounds. The Easttown deputation was mounted and carried a banner inscribed "Easttown, the birthplace of Gen. Wayne."

Soon afterwards the roadbed of the railway was changed further to the north, where it now is. This cut the old inn as well as the barroom and eating station off from the road. A new station was built below the signal tower, and the grade of the Valley road raised so as to cross the tracks by a bridge and thus obviate the former dangerous grade crossing.

Shortly after these changes were made, John D. Evans removed to the old Jackson or Evenson property. He lived here until his death, June 6, 1883. In 1881 he sold the balance of the tract containing the old Paoli and 350 acres to a party of gentlemen from Philadelphia, known as the "Paoli Improvement Company," by whom the tract was laid out into building lots and advertised for sale.

The old inn after an existence of over a century as a favorite public house of entertainment for man and beast, noted far and wide for its good cheer, was now remodeled and the old inn-yard fenced in to make it answer for a so-called fashionable resort of the present day.

However, none of the parties who have engaged in the venture, have been able to make a paying success out of the new departure, and the old inn at the present writing (1886) is closed, without an occupant, and in place of the former scenes of life and activity, quiet and desolation now reign supreme; the closed house and the deserted grounds, repelling rather than attracting the passer by. Whether

a tenant will be found who will succeed in even temporarily galvanizing the old hostelry back into life is a question that time alone can tell; but it is exceedingly doubtful if anything approximating the past reputation of the old Paoli will ever be reached under the present régime.[2]

The inn property has also changed ownership as well as landlords several times since the sale to the Improvement Company.

Since the turnpike has again been put in first-class condition, and is now known as Lancaster avenue from Philadelphia to Paoli, Paoli had become the goal of the wheelmen's club, and during the time that bicycling was in vogue there were often over fifty "wheels" of all kinds and construction to be seen leaning against the fence now enclosing the old tavern yard, while the owners were regaling themselves in or about the old farm house between the inn and the present railroad station previous to their spin back to the city along the smooth road leading through the numerous suburban hamlets which now line that thoroughfare.

[2] A few years later the old landmark was destroyed by fire.

THE "GREEN TREE" IN WILLISTOWN TOWNSHIP.

A FEW days after the occurrence chronicled in the previous chapter on the old "Ship," the sun printer armed with note book and sharpened pencils in addition to some specimen blue prints of familiar landmarks on the old turnpike, sought out the old resident. He of the "Old Hickory Club" who a few days ago had so kindly offered to shake out the folds of his memory, sweep away the cobwebs of time, thus lifting the veil from the past and conjure up scenes of the bygone time as recollected by him, vague, shadowy and oft incoherent though they might be, still would prove as instructive and interesting a revelation to the inquisitive quasi historian as a lantern journey through a foreign clime does to the studious schoolboy.

On entering the humble abode the writer at once saw

and felt that he was welcome. Before his footstep had crossed the sill he was met by his loquacious acquaintance with a hearty "Why, how do you do Mister; glad to see you agin; come right in; feared I talked you so tired the other day that you wouldn't want to meet me again, but walk right in; have a glass of whisky; no; well it's true, 'tisn't like the widow Evans' used to be, but it's the best I can get around here. Miranda, come here a minute. This is the picture man I was telling you about taking pictures of the old taverns on the pike. Miranda is my wife, Mister. Her father used to be a teamster on the old road and made many a trip between Columbia and Philadelphia. He used to haul flour one way and store goods the other." With this introduction the wife approached and greeted the visitor: "Yes, the old man has been telling me about you; I scolded him for telling such things to strangers and told him he ought to know better, but he is getting old and likes to talk. He keeps saying 'the times is all wrong'; that if the 'Old Hickory Club' was still about, with plenty of old time whisky, things would be different, but, Mister, don't get offended at anything he says; he is a good man, if he is old; and still votes for Jackson, as he says, at every election. He can't get Old Hickory out of his head. Why when the war broke out in '61 he came home one day and says: 'Mirandy, I've gone and 'listed.' Good gracious, says I, are you gone crazy as old as you are. 'Well,' says he, 'you recollect the Old Hickory Club I belonged to afore we was married; well our motto was Andy Jackson's orders: 'The Union must and shall be preserved.' So away he went, the Regiment was the 97th; you've heard of it, I suppose; it was the Chester county regiment. Well he came home with what was left of them, but he was pretty well used up." Here the husband

interrupted his wife and told her she had better not talk so much. In the meantime the amateur had taken out his blue prints, and handed them to both Miranda and her husband, who carefully examined them, holding the views at arm's length to suit the focus of his failing eyes, while his wife wiped and adjusted her spectacles. After a few seconds he broke the silence: "So they are the pictures you took the other day; well, if the widow Evans or any of the jolly stage drivers, who used to stop there, was to come back and see this, they would never know it for the old 'Ship.' The picture is all right, Mister, as it is now, but not as it used to be. Mirandy, go tend to your dinner. Now, Mister, we are alone. These women will talk, seems to come natural to them; they will talk, they can't help it. How long have our folks lived around here? Well, Mister, let me see. I can't exactly tell; but my grandfather's father was out with Colonel Bouquet again the French; my grandfather was under Colonel Humpton at Paoli, and was drilled by General Steuben at Valley Forge; know where that is, I reckon. I suppose you heard of the Paoli fight, haven't ye? Well the old man got off; hid in the swamp all night, but reported in Downingtown before noon the next day. Did I ever hear him tell about that night? No, he was dead before I was born, but 'pap' often told us boys all about it, but it's so long ago I almost forget. You would like to know what I heard. Well, I will try and think about it some time. Excuse me, Mister, ain't you dry?" "No." "Well, I am." On the old man's return, after a few moments absence, he continued: "My father fought in 1812 under Colonel Cromwell Pearce; ever heard of him? Well, he is buried over there in the valley. He was a great man in the county when I was a boy, and many a time I heard 'pap' and the Colonel talking over about old times, when I was a boy.

"Mirandy; well, her folks was Welsh. A whole shipload of first cousins came over all at one time way back in Penn's time. Her father used to team along the pike, as I told you afore. I often heard him say, that after the war of 1812 there were several thousand wagons continually on the road between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. 'Pitt Teams' we called them for short; they were longer and heavier than the Conestogas that went to Columbia. Most of these 'Pitt Teams' were drawn by six or eight horses and were loaded up from sixty to eighty hundred weight, and they traveled from 18 to 22 miles a day, making the round trip, between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, in from 30 to 35 days. They always went in squads of half a dozen to thirty in a string, and kept company for the whole distance; this was for protection as well as company, as highwaymen and thieves were not the least fear of the plodding teamster.

"These 'strings,' as they were called, had their regular 'stands' to stay over night, and it was not an unusual sight for fifty to sixty of these teams to meet at one stand for rest.

"The drivers carried a mattress and quilt or blanket, and after they had fed themselves, and their horses, and drunk their usual potation of whiskey, they spread the mattress on the floor of the barroom, and went to sleep amid the turmoil of the barroom; such was the only bed on which many of these hardy teamsters slept from one year's end to another, never undressing, except merely to take off their coats, it was an exception for any of this class to change any part of his clothing from one end of the journey to the other. So you see, Mister, we are native stock, both of us—Miranda and I. Hope you are not getting out of patience. Well, speaking about the pike above Paoli, did

you ever hear of the 'Green Tree'? Well, after leaving Paoli, now as you come up the pike, the first improvement you come to is a little church near the top of the hill. It is the 'Mission of the Good Samaritan at Paoli.' This church was built in the centennial year by an old gentleman, as a memorial for his wife, who for some twenty years boarded at the 'Paoli.' A little further on at the cross-roads, you see an old shop. This used to be the Thomas' shops; were built in 1812 and did a big business in turnpike days. Thomas, who built them, was no relation to the Valley Thomas', but came from Canada, with the 'soldiers' and settled here.

"A little further west, at the next road crossing near the 19th milestone, is where the 'Green Tree' stood. It is in Willistown township and here the Grubb's mill road crosses the turnpike, the latter having ascended the South Valley hill, commences to dip into the 'Great Valley.' Why do they call it the Great Valley? Well, I asked that once when I was a schoolboy and the master told me the right name was the 'Great Limestone Valley,' but the name was long, so in the course of time the middle name was dropped. This explains it; but as I was saying about the 'Green Tree,' when I was a youngster that tavern was a busy spot." We will here leave the old resident for a short time and devote it to the history of the

Green Tree in Willistown.

The inn was known as a wagon stand, and in appearance was similar to the taverns of the time, viz: two stories high, capped by a high attic, porch in front and side, with pump and trough in the tavern yard in front of the house for the convenience of travelers and drovers. The old inn when built shortly after the revolution stood on the old

Lancaster road, same as the Blue Ball, Bear and Admiral Warren. George King is said to have been the builder and host of the first house. He died in 1792. Then Isaac King succeeded to the ownership. It was during his term that the turnpike was built, and fortunately for the tavern keeper the road at this point was laid out to run over or near the old road bed.

As soon as the new highway was completed Isaac King turned the property over to Abram and Joseph King. This was in April, 1797. They kept the house jointly until April 1, 1805, when Joseph King deeded his share and interest to Abram. The house had prospered as travel increased, and the large tree, with wide-spreading branches clothed in full foliage, painted on the swinging signboard which hung in its yoke at the top of a high pole, became one of the best-known landmarks to the toiler on the highway.

Abram King now enlarged the capacity of the house and made many improvements, not the least of which was the building of the large farm barn and stables (demolished 1888). High up in the gable was the legend—A. K. E. —1805. Another curious object about this barn was a large oblong cornerstone in the front or south side, high up in the wall, just below the eaves. This stone bore the legend "24" in antique figures. It was a sandstone, the rest of the stones used in the building being the blue limestone or marble of the Valley.

This marked stone was nothing more nor less than one of the milestones of the first road, which followed the old Indian trail, through the wilderness, from the Schuylkill to the Brandywine. The inscription 24 meant that it was twenty-four miles from the Court House in Philadelphia, at Second and Market streets, to that point by way of the

public road. The stone, however, did not long remain a true prophet to the wayfarer, as, when the Lancaster road was ordered to be laid out by the Provincial Council, the road was straightened so as to shorten the distance between the old stone and the city almost two miles. When afterwards the turnpike was constructed, more kinks were taken out, and the new stone bore the legend 19 to Phila., which was equal to 21 miles to Second and Market Streets.

So when Abram King built his barn, in 1805, the old useless milestone was utilized as a cornerstone, and remained there, a veritable landmark of the past, unknown and forgotten, until just before the barn was demolished, when by the merest accident it was discovered, saved from the rubbish, and by courtesy of ex-Sheriff Gill, the owner, presented to the writer.

Abram King in 1816 passed the title to George and Joseph King, presumably brothers. A few years later the King family, however, seem to have gotten into financial difficulty, and the whole property—farm, tavern and all—was seized and sold Aug. 1, 1820 by Sampson Babb, Esq., High Sheriff of Chester County, to Abram Phillips, after having been in the possession of the King family about sixty years. Before the month of August had expired Phillips sold the inn to Henry Coffman, who was of German descent, and is said to have been raised over on the North Valley Hill. Be this as it may, Henry Coffman and his wife, Catherine, knew how to keep a hotel, and it was not long before the tavern yard was nightly crowded with wagoners' teams of all descriptions, while the barroom was filled with Pennsylvania Dutch teamsters. The Green Tree also became the stopping place for the Mennonites and Amish who traveled along the road, as Coffman was himself a member of the Mennonite community in the

Valleys, and always wore plain clothes with large hooks and eyes in place of buttons, after the manner of the more strict branch of the Amish. The inn was the first public house west of Philadelphia, kept by a "Hooker" Mennonite. This fact alone insured the house a large, if not remunerative, patronage.

Henry Coffman further was an especial favorite with the Pittsburgh wagoners, of whose habits mention has already been made.

This hardy class of men brought forth by the times in which they lived, formed a clan, as it were, by themselves, the same as the Lancaster county Germans, and became particularly fitted for their occupation. The majority of this class were honest, industrious and trustworthy, and noted for their endurance; although all were addicted to the constant use of whiskey, they rarely became under its baneful influence, so as to interfere with their vocation.

There were exceptions to this rule, however, examples of which were given in previous articles on the old inns.

The regular Pittsburgh wagoners would rise early to feed and clean their horses. As soon as they had their breakfast and harnessed their horses they would start on their journey and would not stop to feed themselves or their teams until they arrived at the wagon stand, which was to form the end of their day's route, the only exception or break to their tiresome tour being their stops at the wayside inns to water their horses and liquor themselves.

They ate but two regular meals a day, for each of which they paid twenty-two cents. Their horses were fed oats and rye, which they purchased from the tavern keeper at a few cents advance on the original cost. The first cost of their meals was more than the tavern keeper received from them, consequently the only profit the host of a wagon

AYMISH MENNONITES OF LANCASTER COUNTY.

stand made from his customers was that which arose from the sale of his whiskey and the manure in his yard. Many of these teams perhaps never saw the inside of a barn or shed during their lives.

At night the harness was taken off and laid on the guide pole connecting the two axletrees and protruding out back of the wagon. The horses were tied to different parts of the wagon and fed from feed troughs, which were carried for that purpose on the journey, and no matter how inclement the weather the poor beasts were forced to stand in the open air without shelter and at the mercy of the elements.

Frequently kind-hearted travelers, strangers to the customs of the turnpike, would ask a wagoner why he did not put his horses into the stable during the storm? The reply would always be "that they do better by standing out," and in proof of the truth of their assertion they would challenge their questioner to show them a single poor horse among the many thousands that were harnessed in the "Pitt Teams" on the turnpike.

The wages of these teamsters was usually from eight to ten dollars a month. Small as this amount seems at the present day, yet by thrift and frugality they were able to save enough out of this pittance to purchase within a year or two a wagon and a team of their own.

There were also cases where some of these wagoners became quite wealthy and had a dozen or more teams on the road. In some cases they would start their teams out in a string, while they would accompany them on horseback and after delivering their freight in Pittsburgh would purchase flour and whisky, load their teams, transport it East and sell the cargo on their own account.

Nothing of particular interest occurred during the next

few years of Henry Coffman's regime, until about 1826, when the new State Railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia was projected. At first came vague rumors. These were soon followed by information that the new enterprise was a fact. Then came the corps of engineers under the immediate supervision of Samuel Haines, the City Surveyor of Philadelphia. Coffman opposed and denounced the new project. Still, as the road as first laid out did not come near the "Green Tree," his opposition was expended in ridiculing the enterprise in choice Pennsylvania Dutch whenever the opportunity offered.

It may be of interest to some of the present residents of the vicinity to know where the surveys of the railroad were originally run, viz:

From the summit near the White Horse Inn, in West Whiteland, the line crossed the valley in a southern direction towards Kennard's School House (near the Steamboat Inn). It then continued on the north side of the turnpike to the ridge near the Chester County Academy; here the line crossed the turnpike and kept to the south of it along the face of South Valley Hill past the Warren, until the toll-gate near the 20th milestone was reached; this was just east of the Warren Tavern, then the line crossed the turnpike, and continued on the course until about north of the Paoli, when the line was run down the Valley by way of Davis' Tavern (Howellville) and thence through a ravine above the Spread Eagle Tavern, five miles below the Green Tree. As will be seen had this route been adopted it would have left all the tavern stands between the Warren and Spread Eagle isolated—cut off from the highways of travel.

The means taken by General Evans to induce the engineers to change this route, have been given in a previous

article. John Wilson, chief engineer, in his report to the Canal Commissioners, gives as a reason for changing the route to where it was afterwards built "we proceeded with the location of the railway eastward, in a direction toward the Green Tree Tavern, for the purpose of keeping open the ridge dividing the waters of the 'Valley' and Crum Creek, etc." In his estimate he mentions the sixty first mile from Columbia as being traced along the summit of the valley ridge on favorable ground, crossing one small ravine near "Dempsey's," the line passing between the Green Tree tavern and barn, the mile ending on the north edge of the turnpike, etc.

This was afterward modified so the line was just north of the inn. The turnpike at the west end of the tavern lot curved sharply to the north in its course down the slope of the valley hill, crossing the railroad at grade. This crossing in after years proved to be one of the most dangerous in the county.

When Coffman first heard of this contemplated change of route, he gave the rumor no credence, but when the engineer corps came and finally located the route between the house and barn, and entangled the lines so that it was hard to tell which was the railroad or the turnpike, his anger now knew no bounds. He declared that the new Riegleweg was merely a scheme of the "Teufel" which had been conceived and hatched out in the Freemasons Lodges; it is almost needless to say that our Pennsylvania German was in thorough accord with the most radical "Anti" in the county. He lost no opportunity to vent his spleen against both institutions, which he always coupled together; he went so far as to refuse under any circumstances to harbor or shelter at his house any one connected with the new State improvement, and woe to the luckless railroad man, of

whatever grade, who through ignorance or foolhardiness entered the house in quest of the coveted glass of whiskey. If Coffman saw and recognized the visitor the latter was sure to get a torrent of abuse in choice "Hooker Dutch" about "Riegelwegs or Teufels bahn" in general, himself in particular, and a tirade ending with an order to get "Schnell araus," but no whiskey.

Still the innkeeper kept consoling himself with the idea that, on account of his opposition to the improvement, the new road would never be built, however, as the work progressed his phlegmatic Teuton blood was still further aroused, so much so that he solemnly declared that if the Teufels bahn was built he would sell out and go away, no matter what became of the wagoners or the country. Notwithstanding Coffman's threats the contractors laid their wooden sills and iron plates. The innkeeper, seeing that his opposition amounted to nothing, put his threat into execution and sold the property early in 1832 to Jonathan Jones, of Honeybrook, late High Sheriff, 1825–8, who took possession April 1st, 1832. It is said that Catherine Coffman was also of a thrifty turn and when it came to her time to sign the title papers absolutely refused to attach her signature unless a fine black silk dress was first given her, exclusive of the consideration mentioned in the deed.

A peculiarity about the Green Tree, during Coffman's ownership, was the large number of fine chickens he raised. These fowls were his stand-by in case guests arrived who wanted a meal different from the usual wagoner's fare. In such a case he would take a handful of corn, go out in the tavern yard, call his chickens around him, and, throwing them a few grains of corn, he would dexterously knock over with the short cane he usually carried as many of the fowls as were wanted for the meal.

After his retirement from the inn he bought and moved on a farm in East Whiteland, near the White Horse tavern, where he lived until he died.

With the advent of Jonathan Jones as host of the "Green Tree" the old tavern stand entered upon a new period of popularity. The house under the new proprietor, who for several years had presided over the well known "Boot" in Goshen, lost none of its renown as a wagon stand, while in his attitude towards the new railroad, which was now nearing completion, Jones from the first adopted a policy diametrically opposite to that pursued by his predecessor, and calculated to attract the patronage of those who were engaged in the new enterprise. It was not long before the cars were run on the new road. The passenger cars were small concerns, somewhat like a stage coach, and were drawn by two horses tandem, travelling between the rails. They were known as "fire-flies" on account of their bright red color. At first they were run as far as the "Gen. Paoli," where the passengers were transferred to the regular stage coach. This arrangement was no sooner started than the old wrangle broke out between the two rival Evans' at Paoli. The result of this was that the terminus of the new road was changed as speedily as possible to the Green Tree, a turntable put in, and the house made the transfer station of the mail and passengers for the time being.

The house for some time previous had been the terminus of the West Chester Railroad. William Williamson, the Secretary of the last named road, under date of October 23d, 1832, gave public notice that "until further notice the cars would leave West Chester at 8 a. m. and 2 p. m., and in return leave the house of Jonathan Jones at the Green Tree tavern at 10 a. m. and 4 p. m. Further

that as soon as the Pennsylvania Railroad is finished the trains will be run to Paoli, leaving 20 minutes sooner." How, in the course of time, the road grew in the popular favor, and the turnpike travel declined, how the uncertain horse power was gradually superseded by steam power, after the successful trip of the "Black Hawk," April 16, 1834, has been set forth in a previous chapter, and need not be retold here. The first passenger cars carried passengers on the outside as well as inside, and the primitive locomotive drew three or four of these small cars in a train. The first serious accident which happened on a steam train in the vicinity occurred July 11, 1835. As the train was a short distance from Paoli, and passing under an apple tree, Patrick Daily, an outside passenger, stood up and reached out for an apple. An overhanging limb knocked his hat off, and in his efforts to regain the hat, lost his balance and fell under the wheels of the car, the whole train passing over his right leg. Daily was at once carried to a neighboring house and a doctor summoned, who on his arrival was so appalled at the sight of the mutilated limb that he could do nothing for the sufferer but advise his removal to the Pennsylvania Hospital, which was done as soon as a car could be gotten ready for the purpose. It is needless to say that in the meantime the patient bled to death.

From the completion of the road by the favorable location of the inn, together with the tact of Jones, the Green Tree from the start became a regular stopping station for trains and travelers over the new road.

Jonathan Jones, was also an enthusiastic Free Mason, who had come through an anti-Masonic storm unscathed, and it may not be amiss here to state that his "clothing" and jewels are to the present day prized as precious heir-

looms by his descendants. The house soon became the rallying point for the brethren of the vicinity; the meetings were held in an upper room of the old inn, and by a curious coincidence each visitor before he entered would give three low, distinct knocks on the door which were answered from within. While on the table there would be a copy of Holy Writ, and three lighted candles—always sure to be in the same position. It also happened that a plain Masonic emblem could be seen lying on the sacred volume; possibly this happened by accident. The jewel might have fallen out of the pocket of some one present as he reached over the table to snuff one of the candles. Be this as it may, on these occasions the proscribed emblems were always to be found resting on the open pages.

Thus these few homeless brethren, who though reviled and persecuted, still kept alive some show of an organization, true to the precepts of the ancient Order. Here, under this friendly roof, they met unsuspected and in safety; while oft perhaps in the bar below a parcel of rabid "Anti's" between their cups and brawls, would be denouncing the Order in general, breathing vengeance to all its votaries, and congratulating themselves that the hated institution had been broken up and scattered; little thinking that above them under the same roof tree, there were brethren good and true, who met for the purpose of keeping alive the traditions and teachings of the maligned Order, and anxiously longing for the time to come when the clouds of intolerance would be dispelled, and the bright sun of charity again shed its benign light over our land, and they be enabled to once more organize as a Lodge.

Among the curious characters, who were wont to frequent the vicinity at this time, none was more remarkable than old Sergeant Andrew Wallace. He was a frequent

visitor at the Paoli and after Jones came in possession of the Green Tree, made this Inn his chief stopping place. Wallace was a veteran of the Revolution, and at that time (1833) was in the one hundred and fourth year of his age. He was married and had two children living, the youngest of which was then fourteen years old. The old sergeant had been a member of Captain Church's Company, in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne, and participated in the battle of Brandywine, when Lafayette was wounded in that engagement. It was Sergeant Wallace, who rescued him from his perilous situation, and carried him off the field on his back for a distance of two miles to the house of a friend, where the illustrious Frenchman rested in safety.

The history of this remarkable man reads almost like a romance. Born in Scotland, March 14, 1730, he arrived in this country in 1752, after having participated, young as he was in the Batle of Culloden, on the side of the Stewarts. Shortly after his arrival in this country he enlisted at the breaking out of the French and Indian war in Captain Hannum's Company, at Chester. He was appointed at first as Orderly Sergeant. The company became part of the regular force under Colonel Dark, of Virginia, in General Forbes' division of Braddock's Army, but at the defeat of the latter his division was not in action.

At the very commencement of the Revolution Wallace enlisted, as above stated, in Wayne's Battalion, was again appointed to his former position as Sergeant, and served in that position until the end of the war. He was present at "Three Rivers," at Brandywine, and the affair at Paoli, where he had a narrow escape, and in after years he would never tire in relating how, when all was lost, that he jumped into a cluster of chestnut sprouts right in the midst

SERGEANT ANDREW WALLACE.

AGED 104 YEARS (1833)

THE LAST SURVIVOR OF THE PAOLI MASSACRE.

of the British and Hessians and remained there in safety until the danger was over. The adventure did not deter him from at once reporting to his officer the next morning, and at the Battle of Germantown we find him in the midst of the affray. He passed through the encampment at Valley Forge, and the battle of Monmouth; but a few days later, while out on a scout, was taken prisoner together with Captain Sealery and eighteen comrades. Fortunately for him he was soon exchanged and he rejoined his command in time to volunteer and lead one wing of the "forlorn hope" in the storming of Stony Point. Afterwards he marched to South Carolina with his command and was present at the battles of Cowpens, Eutaw and Camden; also at the closing scene at Yorktown.

In 1785, he again enlisted at New Brunswick, New Jersey, under Captain Lane, to join Col. Harmer against the Mohawks. The troops, however, were discharged without seeing any service. A year later he again enlisted in the regular army and served on the Western frontier for three years. In the year 1791, he enlisted in Captain Doyle's company at Philadelphia, which was destined to form part of the ill fated command of General St. Clair against the Indians in the Western country. He was present at the dreadful slaughter which afterwards took place, and was one of the few who escaped the fury of the savages, and wounded and crippled as he was he made his way back to civilization to tell the tale of the disaster. In the affray he was shot in the arm, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. This, however, did not deter him from remaining in the army, and in 1794 we find him once more under his old commander, General Wayne, fighting the savages on the banks of the Miami.

After the subjugation of the savages he served five years

in the United States Legion under Captain Pike. When this organization dissolved he went into Captain Schuyler's Company, Second Regiment, U. S. A. and marched with his regiment to New Orleans in 1812, and was finally discharged from the service in 1813 at the age of eighty years by General Wade Hampton, on account of debility, after almost 60 years of continuous service against the enemies of his adopted country. And now in his old age, after living long beyond the alloted period of life, we find the old veteran going from tavern to tavern selling pictures of himself to help eke out an existence for himself, wife and children. It is true he received a pension of twenty-six cents per day from the Government. How far that went to support the old veteran, palsy stricken and crippled as he was, need not be told. Colonel Isaac Wayne, a son of the General, together with other residents, however, saw that he did not want. The old man was always throughout his whole life temperate, steady, and regular; always avoiding excesses of any kind. By one of the identical pictures bought of him in person at the old inn, in 1833 and now before the writer, one would hardly think that the original was over seventy years of age, and was a veteran of the Revolution. His countenance even at his great age had a benign and intelligent expression, and although as before stated his body was continually shaken up with the palsy, and his right arm was somewhat crooked and stiff, he was in full possession of his mental faculties, with his mind and memory bright and clear. He was then the last survivor of all who were in the affair at Paoli. And on more than one occasion a party was made up at the inn to visit the battlefield in company with the old veteran, when he with pride would point out to one of the chestnut oak sprouts, which still remained

but then grown to a clump of trees of considerable girth and size. He would also point out to the curious or inquisitive visitor the spot where his brother was killed by the cruel foe on that memorable night. Wallace died, January 27, 1835.

Politically the Green Tree became a rallying point for the Whigs, and became known as a "Whig House," and in consequence became the gathering place for many of that party, who heretofore had patronized the Paoli, the latter house under General Joshua Evans being the great rallying point for the Democracy. The polls of five townships, comprising what was then known as the "Paoli District" were held there. After the advent of Jonathan Jones at the Green Tree a determined effort was made to break up the Democratic stronghold at the Paoli. Ritner was elected Governor and the Anti-Masonic craze had about run its course, and the dismemberment of the district, commenced in 1823 by the separation of Charlestown township into an independent election district, was followed in 1838 by cutting off East Whiteland township, which now became the 32d district, with the polls at the General Wayne Inn, on the turnpike, near the 22d milestone. Willistown was constituted the 35th district in 1839, with the polling place at the house of John Kimes, Sugartown. Easttown followed in 1840, and became the 39th district, with the voting place at the "Leopard," and to complete the matter three years later the polls at Tredyffrin were moved to New Centreville, in the Great Valley. Thus ended the political prestige of the Paoli.

For the next few years nothing of special importance took place until the year 1840. In the eight years since Jones came into possession of the old hostelry, the wooden sills on the railroad had been replaced by iron rails resting

on wooden sleepers, the south track completed and steam motive power introduced. These improvements, however, were not an immediate success, and for a time the tracks were used both for steam and horse cars, an arrangement which led to endless contention between the rival interests. An account of some of the troubles of this early steam transportation will be given in a subsequent sketch. Eventually steam won the victory, when horse power was finally abolished. The travel on the turnpike also rapidly declined. Still, as before stated, the Tree was compensated by the patronage received from the new highway. About this time (1836), Jonathan Jones was succeeded by his son Jacob H. Jones, who proved as popular as his father had been with the patrons of the house. This state of affairs lasted until Wednesday, March 4, 1840, when the house was discovered to be on fire, it having caught from a spark from a passing locomotive, wood then being used exclusively as fuel and there being no provision for catching the flying sparks. The fire commenced on the roof, and although discovered in its earliest stage and the alarm promptly given, the fire was so rapid that before a ladder could be procured and mounted the fire was beyond extinguishment. In a short time there was nothing left standing but the blackened walls and smouldering ruins of the old hostelry. It was with great difficulty that the large barn and stables were saved from destruction, as the strong wind prevalent at the time carried the flames immediately towards them. The loss was estimated to be over $5000, there being no insurance. Considerable furniture was removed to a place of safety, but much of it in a greatly injured condition. In connection with this matter a curious anecdote was long prevalent in the neighborhood, viz: That among the willing helpers at the time there was none more active than a

CAMP WAYNE.

ON THE PAOLI BATTLE GROUNDS, SEPTEMBER, 1840.

couple of the regular habitues of the barroom. At the first alarm these two men rushed upstairs and carefully carried down several feather beds, then returning threw the looking glasses and crockery out of the windows.

It was a curious coincidence that within that week three large fires occurred from sparks from locomotives, it was charged, through carelessness on the part of the engineers. The first of these was the large tavern barn at the Paoli, which then stood about where the present signal tower on the railroad stands, the dwelling house at the southwest corner of the overhead bridge then being the wagon shed. This happened February 26, 1840. This was followed by the destruction of the large tavern at Oakland, and finally, on March 4, our old landmark, the "Green Tree," in Willistown, was reduced to ashes. Fires along the line of the railroad, caused by sparks from the locomotives, became of such frequent occurrence that some of the county papers, opposed to the State Administration, boldly charged that a tavern or barn was set on fire on purpose every night so as to light the road.

The destruction of the old Inn after half a century of usefulness proved a serious loss to the owner; preparations were at once made to rebuild the Inn. It was decided, as the walls were so solid as to have withstood the devouring element, to add an additional story, making it a three story building. A temporary barroom was opened in an outbuilding, which had escaped the fire. This was used until the new house was completed. It became apparent early in the Summer that the annual parade and encampment of the military at the Paoli battle ground (not a mile from the Green Tree) would surpass anything of a similar character in previous years, consequently all efforts were strained to have the inn ready for business early in Septem-

ber. The Green Tree being the nearest public house to the grounds, was naturally well patronized on these occasions by both military and citizens, notwithstanding the fact that whiskey could be had at every farm house around the camp grounds. The affair, in 1840, was to last three days, and companies were expected from Philadelphia as well as from the adjoining counties.

The management of the affairs was entrusted mainly to Gen. Edward F. Evans, a brother of the Hon. Joshua Evans, of the Paoli. The projected encampment proved a great success, both as to the numbers and character of the participants, military and civil who were present on the occasion, prominent among whom were Governor David Rittenhouse Porter. The landlord of the Green was not disappointed in his expectations of a rich harvest from the visitors to the camp.

After this spurt of business the new house settled down to the regular routine, with nothing but the weekly cattle sales and an occasional general vendue to break the monotony. A few years later, Jacob Jones left the house and went to Philadelphia, where he maintained his reputation as an inn keeper, presiding respectively over the West Chester House, on Broad street, the Indian Queen, on Fourth street, and the Rubicam House, on Sixth street. It was at the latter place that P. T. Barnum boarded Tom Thumb and other "freaks" on his first visit to the city. During this time the Green Tree was kept by Jonathan and Frank Jones. Jacob returned from the city about 1851, and again became the landlord, but shortly afterwards died.

Frank Jones for a time then presided over the fortunes of the old inn. He was preceded by Samuel Moore as tenant of the old tavern stand.

March 28, 1867, Jonathan Jones sold the property to John Crumley, during whose ownership Lewis J. Thomson and James Beale are said to have kept the bar. The passage of the "Local Option Law" in 1873, however, closed the bar for two years. In 1874 Crumley sold the property, Ex-Sheriff Gill being the purchaser. At the expiration of the Local Option law the house was relicensed. This, however, proved a matter of short duration. When the Pennsylvania Railroad straightened its road-bed in 1877–8 the new centre line was run directly through the house, necessitating its removal. The building was shortly afterwards demolished and there remains no vestige to remind the thousands of travelers who daily pass over the spot of its former existence.

Before closing this sketch it will not be amiss to state that for a number of years the Green Tree served as the Paoli Post Office. As before stated the Paoli under the regime of the Evans was a great Democratic stronghold. When in 1861 the great uprising of the populace took place, the post office was at once removed from the Paoli to the Green Tree. After the assassination of President Lincoln, during Johnson's term, the office was moved back to the Paoli; after General Grant's inauguration the office was at once returned to the "Green Tree." In 1880 application was made to the proper officials for the return of the office to Paoli, as the place had been sold to an "Improvement Company," and the increasing population needed better postal facilities. This was of course opposed by the residents in the vicinity of the "Tree," so after considerable discussion the citizens of the latter place consented to change the name of the office to "Duffryn Mawr." A new post office was then established at Paoli station under the time honored name of "Paoli."

THE "SHIP," IN WEST WHITELAND,

As Recollected by a Member of the "Old Hickory Club."

ON the afternoon of a bright spring day in April twenty-five years ago an enthusiastic amateur photographer, with outfit box in hand and tripod under his arm, trudged steadily up the turnpike, in West Whiteland, from Glen Loch towards Downingtown, stopped at Ship Lane to look at the neat chapel erected there. His eyes naturally wandered to the opposite corner, and being of a retrospective turn of mind he was mentally contrasting the present with the past, wondering whether the host of the old house, when in the height of its popularity, could ever have thought that the revolution of time in a few years would work changes so great as to leave the then magnifi-

cent and busy highway deserted and abandoned, and the large number of inns by the roadside, houses large, roomy, lofty, as they were, the owners trying to make each more attractive to the travelling public than his competitors, and all being hives of activity, now, after the lapse of a few years, should no longer be houses of entertainment for man and beast, but fenced in from the road, some idle, some used as summer boarding houses, a few as private residences, or occupied by tenants to prevent the property from falling into decay, while others have been torn down or so remodeled that the fact of their having ever been noted public houses is not even known to the present generation. While these thoughts were occupying the mind of the amateur he mechanically set up his tripod, adjusted his camera and prepared to make a negative of what was left of the former "Ship Tavern." While his attention was thus engaged he had been joined by an elderly man, who had been attracted to the spot by the appearance of the pseudo artist. In the meantime the cap had been drawn and returned, the exposure made and the plates carefully returned to the holder, when the old man, who from all appearances was well on the shady side of the allotted three score and ten, addressed the stranger. "Taking pictures stranger?" Then continuing, "Do you know that house you just took was once on a time a tavern? Yes. Well don't forget it was a 'tavern' not a 'wagon stand.' Know what a wagon stand is? Well this was the 'Ship.' Stages and travelers stopped here. Strangers and travelers used to call the house after the old signboard; it swung from a yoke on a tall pole and had a big ship painted on it; it was a curious old sign, it used to swing and creak so when the wind blew at nights some people used to get scared at the noise it made. I often heard my grandfather say how, long before the revolution the same old sign used to swing

in front of a tavern on the old Lancaster road beyond Downingtown, long before the pike was thought of. Well, this tavern-keeper was a Tory, and when after the Battle of Brandywine a lot of American soldiers came that way, and halting at the house, and not getting a very courteous reception from the old Tory, they got mad and before they left shot thirteen bullets through the signboard—for bad luck as they said to the crusty old Tory. Somehow, after that the old house didn't prosper any more like it formerly had, so after the pike was built and things got so busy along the smooth, hard road, this house was built and called the "Ship" and the old sign was brought down and set up anew, thirteen holes and all. All houses in that day had signboards with pictures on them. This was necessary, for many of the teamsters along the road could not read; others were Pennsylvania Dutchmen and couldn't understand English letters, but all knew the pictures and would know a house when they came to it. We, however, who lived around here, knew the old 'Ship' for years and years only as the 'Widow Evans'.' Queer—how was that? Well mistress Susie Evans kept that house for over forty years. The first I recollect of her was about 1820, when Major Bowen kept the house, and Susie was his wife. Well about ten years after that Bowen died, and it was not long before his widow married Levi Evans, and they carried on the house—we all used to know her then as Susie Evans—however Levi did not live long, and Susie was again left a widow. She still kept the house until she died just before the war broke out. That is how the house got to be known to everybody as the Widow Evans'. Well, after she died the old house ceased to be a tavern, and the property was sold to a French family from the city, who I hear lately sold it again. Many a night, continued the old resident, I spent in that barroom; there was plenty of

whiskey about then, we didn't have to tramp all the way to Downingtown for it, and such as it is, why 'taint worth drinking after you do get it nowadays. But as I was saying the whiskey, as well as the people, were different then. The widow Evans used to get her whiskey from a still over by the Springs, I mean the Yellow Springs, over the hill there, another lively place when I was a boy. Colonel Bowen used to keep the house over there."

Along about sixty-five years ago Mr. Chambers, the celebrated divine and temperance lecturer, came up from Philadelphia to deliver a lecture on temperance at Grove, in Chester County. He left the train at Oakland Station, now Whitford, and before going across he entered the hotel at that place and requested Mr. Boyer to give him "a strong cup of coffee." A Mrs. Evans, who kept the Ship tavern, in the same township, heard of the incident, and in presence of some parties she made use of the expression that she wished he had come to her with that request: "I would have made it strong enough for him."

This expression of Mrs. Evans reached the ears of Mr. Chambers and a few days later in a lecture down at Everhart's grove in West Chester he made allusion to the matter in terms not at all complimentary to Mrs. Evans. It so happened that that lady had a goodly number of friends in the audience and they took exceptions to his remarks and were disposed to make things unpleasant for him.

A correspondent expresses himself on the condition of things temperate at that period:

"You might have thought by the efforts the temperance people were making in those days liquor would have been wiped from the face of the earth before this. They did succeed in wiping it out of the township of West Whiteland so far as licensed hotels were concerned. In speak-

ing of Mrs. Evans and the Ship, there was no place where temperance people would rather go for a good meal than at the Ship, for they were sure to get a good, strong cup of coffee and plenty of brandy in their mince pie."

Like everybody else, those good old temperance people liked good living, and went where it was to be had.

"There were no temperance folks around here then—things were different. No matter how much of the widow's whiskey I drank, it never gave me a headache the next day—but it is different now—the liquor has changed and so has the times around here. You see that big house yonder on the right. Well, that is Jacobs'; and there is a large ore-bank and quarry which was worked then, and many a load of ore and stone was hauled out of it, to say nothing of the many men who were employed there. Then after a time they struck several big springs, so they put in steam pumps, banked up a field and formed a small lake of about twenty acres. You can see it right below the house, what is left of it looks like a big earthwork or fort, like we built on the Arlington Heights in '61 to save Washington. Then you see that house just below the old dam? That is the old 'Sheaf of Wheat,' or 'Wheat Sheaf,' that was a wagon stand, not a stage tavern—like the 'Ship.' But, stranger, the greatest time I remember around here was the year I first voted. Andy Jackson was my man, and we re-elected him. Old Hickory we called him, and our club was the 'Old Hickory Club' and we met at the 'Ship.' There were good times around here then. There was plenty of good whiskey around here when we met, and none of your patent stuff like nowadays neither. I lived just below the line in East Whiteland and had to go all the way to General Evans' (Paoli) to get my vote in. However, there was plenty of fun that election, there was

no end to it. Almost everybody except we of the 'Old Hickory' creed was an 'Anti.' Don't know what I mean by an Anti—well, I might have known that you wouldn't know. It came about this way. There were a lot of men, or a society, that used to meet around at different taverns in West Chester, Downingtown, at the 'Jackson,' below Paoli, at 'Filson's,' up in Humphrysville, and at the 'Olive Branch,' on the Harrisburg pike. These clubs or meetings were called Freemasons, and the members were most all well-to-do citizens. Well, some men who wanted to join them and couldn't, because they were not wanted, got mad and called the members 'Cabletows,' and even accused them of murdering people. Well, stranger, as these Masons took no notice of these things, it only made the outsiders madder, and they formed a political party and started two papers in the county, one at West Chester by Joseph Painter, the other at Coatesville by Dr. Perkins. This party called themselves the 'Anti's,' and it was not long before they made things hot in the county, and in almost no time every man around here excepting us was an 'Anti' of some kind. There was—let me see—the 'anti-Jacksons,' 'anti-Masons,' 'anti-Republicans,' 'anti-Whigs,' 'anti-Canals,' 'anti-Taxations' and others, but no matter how strong an 'anti' they were, or how excited or worked up they would get, on one point they all agreed with the 'Old Hickory Club.' What was that? Why that come what may there should be no 'anti-whiskey.' But Mister, as I was saying, that was a great election. There was no end to the fun, even the Lancaster county Dutchmen teaming along the pike got warmed up, and when they would pass a Jackson house or see anybody out on the porch they would sing

"'Wart nur dee Irisher
der Josef Ritner is der mon
der unser Staat regiren Kon.'

"Ritner was their candidate for Governor, he was the 'Boss-Anti.' Our man was George Wolfe.

"After harvest was over the weather and politics kept on getting hotter and hotter—so did the Anti's, and they kept threatening things, so in August our County Committee met at Gallagherville, up above Downingtown, and formed Vigilance Committees for every township in the county. Two of our club were named for West Whiteland, Enos Strickland and John T. Worthington. Never heard of them. Well, Mister, I recollect them just as if it was last week. The committee was no sooner appointed than we got a scare around here that made a good many forget all about politics for a time. What was that? Why, Mister, it was a new disease to us, they called it cholera. At first it didn't scare us; the club met right along. We were not afraid, as everybody said that whiskey was a sure cure for the new disease, and any one who drank plenty of it wouldn't take it. You suppose a good many took the cure for fear of the cholera; you are right, stranger. However, one day it broke out down by Kunkle's mill, right over there in the Valley—know where it is? Yes, well there were eleven taken in two days, and nine died, for all the whiskey they drank it didn't help them. We stopped our meeting for a while then, but after a little, people got over their scare, and the disease left our county, and it wasn't long before the fun started up again. The Anti's blamed the whole thing upon the Cabletows, or Freemasons. Some even blamed the whiskey, others allowed it was all the fault of the Jackson men. The

'Hickory Club,' however, went right on, drank Susie Evans' whiskey, and stood up for Jackson, Wilkins and Wolfe. Well, stranger, that puts me in mind of when the weather got cooler in the fall. As the time for election came nearer, our Congressman, General Joshua Evans, got up a great rally at his tavern at Paoli. We had elected Wolfe at the October election, and the Anti's were pretty sick. I'll never forget that as long as I live. What day was it? Why the twenty-seventh of October, 1832. Mister, they don't have meetings like this one was any more. The General and his brother Edward engineered the whole thing that day. They called it the great rally of the 'Democracy against the Aristocracy.' Five townships used to vote at Paoli then, and you should have seen how the people flocked to the Paoli on that day. Every road and lane that led to the Paoli was alive with men and boys in stages, wagons, on horseback and on foot. You might a thought the whole county was on the go. But, Mister, you should have seen the 'Old Hickory Club' as they came down the pike, four abreast. Strickland and Worthington, our marshals, were ahead. Then came the buglers. Joseph Free was one of them, and he could bugle. He bugled for the 'Lafayette Rangers,'—they used to meet at the Ship too. What were the Rangers? Why I was one of them, they were a soldier company, and part of the 143rd Regiment Pennsylvania Militia. George Wagonseller used to drill and muster us up at the 'Ship'; but, as I was saying, after the buglers came a horseman with a brand new American flag, and that flag had twenty-six stars on it, remember that Mister. Then we as had horses followed mounted, each rank made up according to the color of the horses. Then came a long string of hay wagons, dearborns, and the like filled with members who

didn't have any horses. These wagons were all trimmed up with cedar and shellbark boughs, and how we all cheered for 'Old Hickory' as we went past the Sheaf, Steamboat, Wayne, Warren and the Tree. But, stranger, times like these have passed and gone long ago—you will never see a turnout like that was now—times is so changed. But Mister you should have heard the cheering when we come down the pike at Paoli. The General had old 'Diana' there, and they fired her off as soon as they saw our flag coming over the hill at Thomas' shops. Diana? Why that was a big brass cannon and belonged to the Paoli Artillerists. When we got down to the State road, you should have heard the band at the tavern yard play 'Independence Day has Come' and 'Yankee Doodle.' They don't play tunes like these nowadays, Mister." After a short pause, during which the old man seemed to be lost in thought, he continued. "There was plenty of whiskey there that day, not bottles either, but barrels with spiggots in them. 'Here is to Old Hickory,' and 'Down with the Aristocrats' were the toasts and many a one was drunk. The whiskey wasn't as good as we got at Susie's, but everybody drank as much as they could get of it anyhow. Stranger, they don't have meetings like this nowadays. Times ain't what they used to be. One thing about this rally, however, always struck me as queer when I think about it. What was that? Why there wasn't an Anti for miles around who was not there, and how they all pitched into the Jackson whiskey got me.

"When election day came around we beat them all and re-elected Old Hickory, but times have changed since then. Why stranger, many a time I stood right here on this spot and counted over fifty 'Pitt teams' in a string pass me both ways, one right after another. 'Pitt teams' were six-

horse teams. The wagons had extra broad tires on the wheels, some were loaded as heavy as six tons weight, and they teamed through to Pittsburgh beyond the mountains. They don't make wagons like these now, but as I was saying times have changed. First they started to build the railroad, but they were a long time getting it to work right. Then things went from bad to worse. They got locomotives and trains on the railroad, the canal was finished from Columbia to the mountains and one of the first things they did was to put wheels under the canal boats and haul them over the railroad between the inclined planes at Columbia and Belmont on the Schuylkill. Why, stranger, I have stood here on the pike many a time and seen the trains of boats hauled past here—they were freight as well as passenger boats—'packets' they called them. They were built in sections, painted white, green shutters to the windows outside and Turkey red curtains inside—seems curious now. Not long after this, the traffic on the pike went down, stages were taken off, teaming was done for, tavern after tavern shut up, first the wagon stand, then one stage house after another—and here we are to-day, the pike full of ruts and holes, abandoned and deserted. The widow Evans dead and gone long ago and the 'Ship,' well stranger, if any one would have said anything like this would ever happen when the 'Hickory Club' met there—well, he would have been taken for a lunatic and put where he could do no harm, but times have changed. After things got so bad years ago I got disheartened and joined the 'Battleaxes'; then I got into more trouble and left this part of the country until last year, when I came back to die. Would I like to have a picture of the old inn? Well stranger, replied the old man, you're a stranger to me and very clever; I'm obliged to you for being so kind, but I

have got no use for it this way, but show me one of the 'Ships' as it was when the widow Evans kept it. The Hickory's met there and drank her whiskey, with the never-ending line of teams, stages and droves traveling by on the smooth white turnpike, with the old wheelwright shop and smithy at the opposite corner (it's a tenant house now), where I so often stopped when a boy to watch the men at work over the fire on the hearth, and listen to the sound of the hammer on the anvil. Let me see a picture with the old tree, pump and water trough, the crowds and loungers on the porch, and a stage—one of the 'Good Intent' or 'Opposition' lines, don't matter which—with their four dapple grays drawn up, prancing in the old yard. Show me a picture, stranger, like this. Put it up at vendue and I will bid until I get it. I hope," continued the old resident with a look of sadness on his face, "that I have not given you any offence with my talk, but I felt young again. When you come this way again go to Downingtown. There are two houses there you ought to take. Would I like to go along and tell you what I know about the houses on the pike from Paoli to Downingtown? Well, Mister, you are very kind to want an old man like me for company, but come up and I will tell you what I can remember. But one thing is sure; in all my travels I never came across any whiskey to come up to the widow Evans'. Good bye!" After this parting shot in praise of the former refreshment dispensed in the old inn, the old resident pattered slowly up the pike, while the amateur stood thinking about the picture of long ago which the old man had conjured up before him. The long shadows of the sun, however, soon awakened him from his reverie, and he at once saw that his day's work was done. So quickly had the minutes passed. Picking up

his tripod and plate holders he sadly turned his back to the setting sun and trudged wearily over the deserted highway towards the station at Glen Loch, making at the same time the mental resolve in the near future to again seek out the old member of the "Hickory Club."

AFTER THE VENDUE.

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XXV

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee

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J. E. B. BUCKENHAM, M.D.

The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland

BY

DANIEL WUNDERLICH NEAD, M.D. (UNIV. OF PA.)

Member of the Pennsylvania-German Society; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Historical Society of Berks County; the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, etc.

"Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit."—VIRGIL

ILLUSTRATED BY JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.

PART XXV. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

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FOREWORD.

FOR a century and a half the term "Mason and Dixon's Line" has been a more or less familiar expression, and for the greater part of the latter half of that period it was frequently on men's tongues. The lines drawn on the earth's surface by geographers or laid out by the wisdom of statecraft are often taken in too literal a sense; and so, in the course of time, it came to pass that Mason and Dixon's Line came to be regarded almost as a tangible barrier: the line dividing the North from the South. Yet, as a mater of fact, were it not for the monuments set up at stated intervals it would be impossible to tell where the jurisdiction of one commonwealth ends and that of the other begins. The mountains and valleys are continuous, the fertile fields lie side by side, there is no difference to be found in the people, and it not unfrequently happens that a farm will lie partly on one side of the line and partly on the other, and there are even houses through which the line runs, one part of the house being in Maryland and the other part in Pennsylvania.

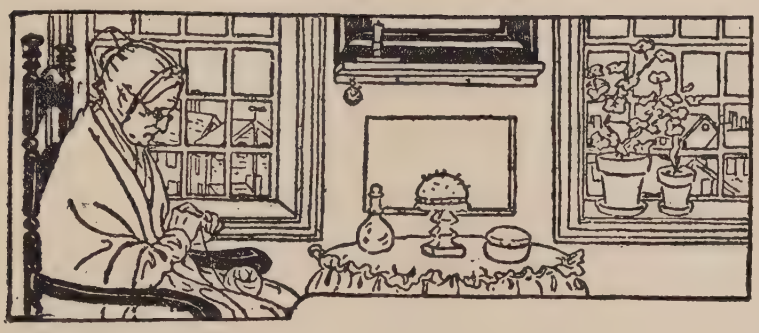
But outside of the question of contiguity there is a sentimental attachment between the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Had the boundary between the two colonies been fixed at the point where the respective charters apparently placed it, the fortieth parallel of north latitude, a considerable portion of the territory now included within the state of Pennsylvania would belong to Maryland. The fortieth parallel runs about on a line with Lehigh Avenue in Philadelphia, so that had that meridian been decided on as the dividing line between the two colonies the greater part of the city of Philadelhia would now be situated in Maryland. So too would be a strip of territory nearly twenty miles in width, extending across the state and taking in such towns as West Chester, York, Chambersburg, and all the fertile country surrounding those towns.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to gather together in brief form what is known concerning the influence of the Pennsylvanians in the settlement of the western part of the colony of Maryland. There is no claim of originality, but use has been freely made of the results of other investigations. It is very unfortunate that there are but few records in existence concerning the period under consideration, so that many points cannot be determined, but what is known has been put together in concise form for convenient reference.

The writer wishes here to express his thanks to Dr. Julius F. Sachse for preparing the illustrations, which add materially to the interest in the work, and also to Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer for material assistance in searching old records.

Daniel Wunderlich Read

READING, PENNSYLVANIA,
December, 1913.



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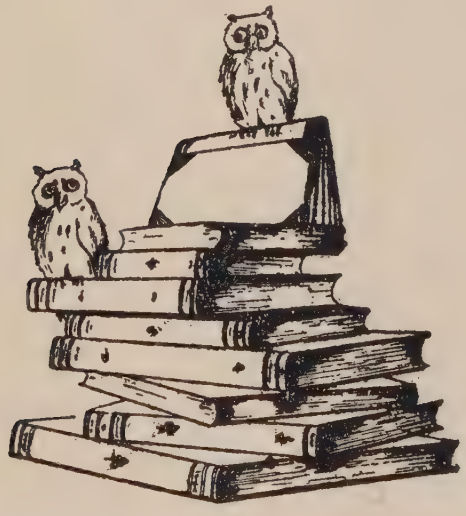

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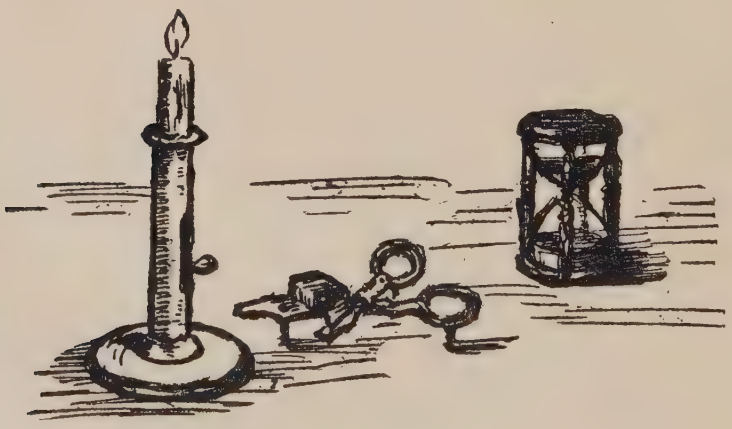

CHAPTER I.

The Maryland Colony.

THE settlement of Maryland was the culmination of the plan of George, Lord Baltimore, to found a colony where the inhabitants might worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.[1] Sir George Calvert was brought up a Protestant and, enjoying the personal friendship of James I., he obtained rapid advancement in the government service and was finally made

[1] "It cannot with evident certainty be stated that Sir George Calvert, in the settlement of either of his provinces, Avalon or Maryland, had in view the formation of an asylum for English Catholics, although it is so stated by several historians; such intention of his being nowhere clearly expressed by himself, unless it be in the before mentioned MS. account of Avalon, by Sir George himself, still remaining in the British Museum, the contents of which we have no opportunity of examining. With regard to Maryland, the fact, ascertained in history, as well in the records of the province, that most of the first colonists of that province were Roman Catholics, leaves a strong inference that it was the original contemplation of Sir George thereby to erect for such Catholics a place of refuge. In respect to Avalon, however, we have not this fact, as a ground for such inference."—Bozman's "History of Maryland," Vol. I., p. 242.

principal Secretary of State. In 1624 he became a Roman Catholic and at once resigned his position as Secretary, but the king kept him as a member of the Privy Council and created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore, in Ireland.

At this time the laws of England were very severe against the Roman Catholics and in order to escape persecution Lord Baltimore determined to found a colony where religious liberty would be secured to all the inhabitants. For some years he had been interested in schemes for colonizing America, having been one of the councillors of the New England Company and a member of the Virginia Company until its charter was revoked, when he was appointed one of the council for the government of that colony. He first turned his attention to New Foundland and, securing a grant in that locality, he erected a province which he named Avalon.[2] After first sending a small party of colonists, he went thither himself with his family, but a residence of two years convinced him that that locality was not suited for the successful planting of a colony, and he sailed for Virginia.

The authorities in the Virginia colony would not allow him to land unless he would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and this his religious principles would not allow him to do. He, therefore, sailed north and explored the shores of the Chesapeake above the Virginia settle-

[2] Bozman, Vol. 1, p. 240, quotes Oldmixon's "British Empire in America," as follows: "This gentleman" (Sir George Calvert) "being of the Romish religion was uneasy at home, and had the same reason to leave the kingdom, as those gentlemen had, who went to New England, to enjoy the liberty of his conscience. He therefore resolved to retire to America, and finding the New Foundland company had made no use of their grant, he thought of this place for his retreat; to which end he procured a patent for that part of the island, that lies between the bay of Bulls in the east, and cape St. Mary's in the south, which was erected into a province, and called Avalon."

ment, and finding this territory suitable for his purpose he returned to England and petitioned Charles I., who by that time had succeeded his father, for a grant of land in that locality. Opposition arose from the Virginia authorities and, although the king was favorably disposed toward Lord Baltimore, the matter was delayed, and before the charter was finally granted, on June 20, 1632, Lord Baltimore died, and the charter, when issued, was in the name of his eldest son, Cecilius.

The charter granted to Lord Baltimore was the most liberal ever granted by the English crown. It erected the colony into a palatinate,[3] and created the proprietary but little short of a ruling sovereign. He was made "absolute lord of the land and water within his boundaries, could erect towns, cities, and ports, make war or peace, call the whole fighting population to arms, and declare martial law, levy tolls and duties, establish courts of justice, appoint judges, magistrates, and other civil officers, execute the laws, and pardon offenders; he could erect manors with courts-baron and courts-leet, and confer titles and dignities, so that they differed from those of England; he could make laws with the assent of the freemen of the province, and, in cases of emergency, ordinances not impairing life,

[3] The term *Palatinate* originated with the early Frankish or German rulers who bestowed on an officer known as the "Count of the Palace" (*comes palatii,* or *palatinus*) certain powers nearly equaling those of royalty. Later these powers were bestowed on powerful vassals who, to all intents and purposes, became kings, except that they acknowledged the suzerainty of the appointing sovereign. In England certain counties were made palatinates, and the charter granted to Lord Baltimore gave him all the "rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, immunities and royal rights, and temporal franchises whatsoever . . . as any bishop of Durham, within the bishopric or county palatine of Durham, in our kingdom of England, ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have held, use or enjoy."

limb, or property, without their assent; he could found churches and chapels, have them consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and appoint the incumbents."

Having received his charter, Lord Baltimore immediately proceeded to organize an expedition to colonize the territory which had been granted to him. He secured two vessels, the *Ark* and the *Dove,* on which his party of colonists embarked and sailed from Cowes on November 22, 1633. There were about two hundred in the party, of whom about twenty were "gentlemen adventurers," as they were called: men of fortune who took part in the enterprise partly in a spirit of adventure, although, no doubt, some of them sought a religious asylum, the balance of the company being made up of servants and craftsmen of various kinds. Lord Baltimore had intended accompanying the expedition, but his presence in England being necessary he placed his brother Leonard in command as governor. Early in the following spring they reached the Chesapeake, and after stopping at an island near the mouth of the Potomac, which they named St. Clement's, where, on March 25, 1634, they celebrated their first mass in the new world, Governor Calvert with a small party started out to seek a suitable location for their settlement. He had secured as guide Henry Fleete, an Englishman who was well acquainted with that part of the country, having spent several years among the Indians. But although Fleete was thoroughly acquainted with the surrounding country he was not the first of his countrymen to visit it.

The first white man to visit the territory now embraced within the state of Maryland was Captain John Smith, of Virginia. Very soon after the foundation of the James-

POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith was delivered to him prisoner 1607
1690
MONACANS
POWHATAN
MIN-
GOAGS
CHA-
WONS
Cape Henry
Cape Charle
THE
VIRGINIAN
SEA
37
38

40
41
RGINIA
Massaw-
Massawomeck
omecks
1691
Signification of these markes.
In the cross hath bin discovered
what beyond is by relation
Kings howses
Ordinary howses
QVI
CHONIOS
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PENSE
The Sasquesahanoughs
are a Gyant like people &
thus attyred
S A S Q V E
S A H A N A
O V G H
A T Q V
A N A
H V K E S
T O C K
W O G H S
Leagues
Pag. 41
Smith
40
41

town settlement that hardy pioneer turned his attention to exploring the country to the north, and in the summer of 1608 he made two trips in an open boat, with a few companions, and made his way as far north as the mouth of the Susquehanna, exploring the different rivers and marking them on his map with an accuracy that is scarcely exceeded at the present day. He rowed up the Potomac river to a point above the present site of Washington, as far as he could go in his boat, and has given us a comprehensive description of that part of the country. Of this expedition Lossing says:[4] "It was one of the most wonderful of exploring expeditions, considered in all its aspects."

Under the guidance of Fleete the party went a short distance up the Potomac, and at a point where an Indian town already existed a tract of land was purchased from the Indians and a town laid out which was named St. Mary's. During their first year the colonists subsisted largely upon supplies of food, chiefly Indian corn, obtained from the Indians. The policy followed by Governor Calvert in his treatment of the Indians was such as to gain their friendship, and thus were avoided many of the disasters which overtook colonists in other parts of the country. The Maryland settlers, as a rule, were free from attacks by hostile Indians.

It was evidently Lord Baltimore's intention to found an aristocratic state, based on large holdings of land, the land to be kept in the family of the original owner through the law of entail. The first allotment of land to the settlers was made with this end in view. In the proprietary's instructions to his brother Leonard, who represented him, he advises him that he is to

[4] Quoted by Scharf, "Chronicles of Baltimore," p. 8.

"make or cause to be made under our great seal of that our said province unto every first adventurer for every five men aged between sixteen and fifty years, which such adventurer did bring into our said province to inhabitt and plant there in the year of our Lord 1633, and unto his heirs forever, a grant of two thousand acres of land of English measure for the yearly rent of 400 lb. of good wheat, . . .

And we do further will and authorize you, that every two thousand acres, and every three thousand acres, and every one thousand acres of land so to be passed or granted as aforesaid unto any adventurer or adventurers, be erected, and created into a manor to be called by such name as the adventurer or adventurers shall desire."[5]

But this plan of Lord Baltimore's did not succeed. While it was possible for a colonist, by bringing over a large number of servants, to obtain a large grant of land, it was unusual to find plantations containing more than one thousand acres. Prior to 1700 there were few towns and these did not grow very rapidly. The character and occupations of the inhabitants militated against the growth of towns. The colony of Maryland had been established by Lord Baltimore as a religious asylum where the inhabitants might worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, and although he was a Roman Catholic, no attempt was made to prevent those who belonged to Protestant denominations from settling in the colony. Indeed, it is probable that of the first colonists the greater number were Protestants. Most, if not all, of the "gentlemen adventurers" were probably Roman Catholics, but of the servants and laborers there is no doubt that a very large proportion were Protestants, although there is no way of accurately determining this, as there is no record of the names of all the colonists. These settlers were planters

[5] Bozman's "History of Maryland," Vol. II., pp. 38–40.

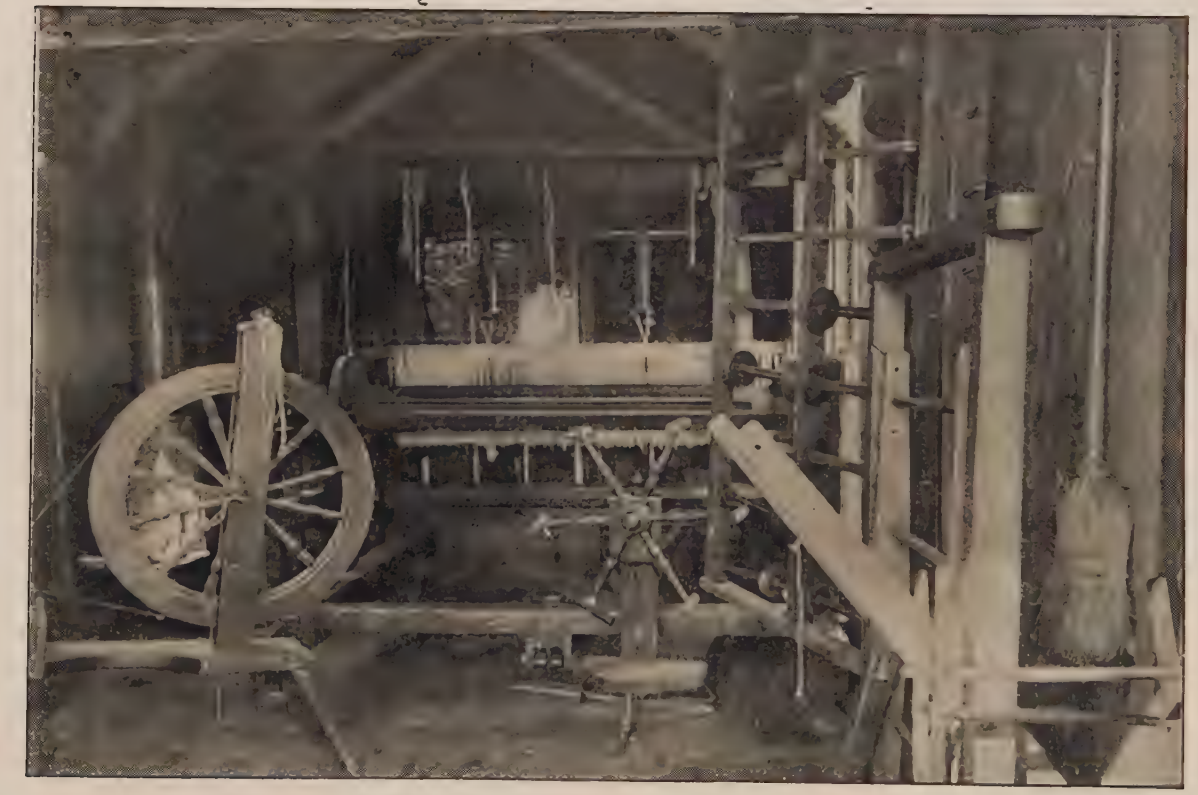
and farmers and the plantations were, as a rule, spread over a rather extended territory. There were no manufactories, and what manufactured goods were required were brought over from England.

Following the example of the Virginia colonists, the newcomers almost immediately began the cultivation of tobacco. Indeed more attention was paid to this than to anything else. The chief aim of the planters was to raise as much tobacco as possible, for, being the currency of the colony, all other commodities were purchasable with it, and a man's possessions were reckoned in accordance with the amount of tobacco he could produce. The natural consequence of this state of affairs was that the quality of the tobacco soon began to deteriorate, while the growing of corn and other necessaries of life almost ceased. As early as 1639 an act was passed compelling every grower of tobacco to plant and cultivate two acres of corn for each member of his family. The next year another act was passed limiting the culture of tobacco to so many plants per head, but even these laws did not improve matters much. The colony did not grow very rapidly, the settlers confined themselves almost entirely to the territory adjacent to tidewater, and it was not until the coming of the German settlers, who by their thrift and industry showed the possibilities of the fertile fields, that the colony began to make rapid strides forward.

CHAPTER II.

The First German Settlers.

THERE is nothing in the records to show that there were any Germans among the first party sent out by Lord Baltimore to found the colony of Maryland, but it is extremely probable that among that company of two hundred people, consisting chiefly of servants and artisans, there were a number of Germans. The colony had been founded as an English settlement, and it is evident that foreigners were not desired, for while there was no direct prohibition of the settlement of foreigners in the colony, there was no inducement to lead them in that direction. The terms upon which land was to be granted to colonists was such as to lead to the formation of an aristocracy, which was undoubtedly Lord Baltimore's purpose, and naturally this aristocracy would be expected to be made up of wealthy Englishmen who could take advantage of the conditions of plantation. According to the



A PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN LOOM AND SPINNING-WHEEL.

instructions sent out by Lord Baltimore to his brother, in 1636, any member of the first party of colonists who brought over with him five men was to receive two thousand acres of land subject to an annual quit-rent of four hundred pounds of wheat. The same allotment of land was made to those who came over in the years 1634 and 1635, bringing with them ten men, but the rent was to be six hundred pounds of wheat, and those who came over later, or brought fewer men, were to be granted smaller amounts of land.[6] As Bozman says:[7] "It will be readily perceived, that these instructions, or conditions of plantation, were well calculated to induce men of some property in England, who were able to bear the expense of transporting servants and dependents, to emigrate to this province. It is true, that it was sketching out aristocratic features in the future government of the province, which in other times, might have been supposed to operate in discouragement of emigration."

But it was evidently this class of people that Lord Baltimore wanted, and foreigners were not even allowed to own land nor had they any political rights. It was not until 1648 that foreigners were allowed to take up land. In the commission of William Stone, lieutenant of the province, accompanying the conditions of plantation of 1648, and dated at Bath, August 20, 1648, Lord Baltimore writes:

> And we do hereby authorize and Require you till we or our heirs shall signify our of their Pleasure to the Contrary from time to time in our name and under the Great Seal of the said Province of Maryland to Grant Lands within our said Province to all Adventurors or Planters to or within the same upon such terms and

[6] Archives of Maryland, Vol. III, p. 47.

[7] "History of Maryland," Vol. II., p. 38.

Conditions as are expressed in the said last Conditions of Plantation bearing date with these presents and according to the forms of Grants above mentioned and not otherwise without further and special warrant hereafter to be obtain[d] for the same under our or our heirs hand and seal at Arms and whereas we are Given to understand that as well divers Frenchmen as some other People of other Nations who by our former as also by these last Conditions of Plantation are not Capable of having any lands within our said Province and are already seated or may hereafter with our or you our Lieutenants leave there for the time being seat themselves in our said Province we do hereby Authorize you to make any Person or Persons of French Dutch or Italian discent as you shall think fit and who either are already planted or shall hereafter come and Plant in our said Province Capable of our said last Conditions of Plantation and do hereby Give you Power to Grant Lands thereupon within our said Province unto them and every of them accordingly as well for and in respect of themselves as for and in respect of any Person or Persons of British or Irish discent or of any of the other discents aforesaid which they or any of them and also which any other Person of British or Irish discent shall hereafter with our or you our said Lieutenants leave transport into the said province in the same and in as ample manner and upon the same terms and Provisoes as you are hereby or by our Commission to you for the Government of the said Province authorised to Grant any Lands to any Adventuror or Planter of British or Irish discent within the said Province.[8]

The following year the conditions of plantation were abrogated and new ones issued under date of July 2, 1649. The new ones were practically the same as those issued the year before except that they authorized an increase in the size of the manors to be granted. Lord Baltimore gives as his reason for issuing the new ones that those of 1648 "were not like to give sufficient encouragement to many

[8] Archives of Maryland, Vol. III., p. 222.

to adventure and plant there." Bozman seems to think[9] that this action on the part of Lord Baltimore, in allowing foreigners to take up land, was prompted chiefly by his anxiety to increase the population of the province, and that he was undoubtedly indifferent as to what sect of Protestant religion his colonists belonged. Whether this liberality on the part of Lord Baltimore led to any increase in the number of Germans who settled in the colony is not evident, but it is extremely probable that it did have that effect. There is no doubt that from a very early period in the history of Maryland the colony was constantly receiving additions from the neighboring colony on the Delaware, which at the time of the founding of the colony of Maryland was under the control of the Dutch. It is true that these additions were not made up of a very desirable class of people, consisting chiefly, as they did, of runaway servants. The records of the Dutch and Swedish colonies on the Delaware frequently mention occurrences of this kind. In a letter from Director-General Peter Stuyvesant to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, dated September 4, 1659, he says:[10]

> The City's affairs on the Southriver are in a very deplorable and low state. It is to be feared, that, if no other and better order is introduced, it will be ruined altogether; it would be too long and tedious, to report all the complaints brought from there, nor can all be received (as true;) but it is certainly true, that the people begin to run away in numbers, as for instance, while I write this, there arrives from there an English ketch, which went there with some provisions from Boston three weeks ago; the skipper of it, a well-known and trustworthy man, says that during his stay of 14 days at the Southriver about 50 persons, among them whole families, run away from there to Virginia and Maryland.

[9] "History of Maryland," Vol. II., p. 342.

[10] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII., p. 611.

Again, on the 17th of the same month Stuyvesant writes:[11]

> We mentioned in our last letter the deplorable and bad state of affairs in the City's Colony on the Southriver, caused by the desertion and removal of the Colonists to Maryland, Virginia and other places, which increases daily in such a manner, that hardly thirty families remain.

It is very probable that the state of affairs was greatly exaggerated by Stuyvesant, as there is no record of such wholesale additions to the population of Maryland, and the few stragglers who did make their way into that colony were not in sufficient numbers to leave any records of their doings. One of the first of the German settlers in Maryland of whom we have any record, and the first who may be called a Pennsylvania-German, was Cornelius Commegys. He had formerly lived in the colony on the Delaware, and after spending some time there had removed to Maryland. The exact date of his arrival in the latter colony is not known, but it was probably about 1661, as he was naturalized on July 22 of that year. In the same year Augustine Herman, writing to Vice-Director Beekman, of the Dutch colony on the Delaware, says: "Nothing could be done with Cornelius Comegys this year, it must be done next year and some other instructions sent from the Manhattans, which upon my return home I shall help your Honor to procure."[12] This would seem to indicate that there was some trouble in connection with Commegys's removal to Maryland. Weishaar[13] says that

[11] Ibid., p. 617.

[12] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII., p. 697.

[13] Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Vol. XV., p. 19.

on July 30, 1666, Commegys received a patent for 150 acres of land in Cecil county. Later on he obtained a much larger tract of land, for the proceedings of Council show[14] that on December 15, 1669, he was granted a patent for 350 acres of land. There is very little known of the history of Cornelius Commegys. Weishaar says: "When in 1679 the two Labadists, Danker-Schilders and Sluyter-Vorstmann visited Maryland, they found Commegys in possession of a large farm, and his son Cornelius was about to buy a farm for himself. His first wife Wilhemintye, however, had died, and he was married again to an English woman."

It may be interesting to note the manner in which foreigners were naturalized at this time. It must be remembered, however, that at that period there was not the same distinction between the terms Dutch and German that there is to-day. In fact, the term German was rarely used, and the appellation *Dutchman* was indiscriminately applied to the representatives of all the Teutonic races. Under the heading "Denization of Swedes and Dutch," in the Proceedings of Council, appears the following paper:[15]

"Cæcelius Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon Lord Barron of Baltemore &c To all persons to whome theis shall come Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting. Whereas Peter Meyor late of New Amstell and Subject of the Crowne of Sweeden hauing transported himselfe his wife and Children into this our Province here to inhabite hath besought us to grante him the said Peter Meyor leaue here to Inhabite and as a free Dennizen freedome land to him and his heires to purchase Knowe yee that we Doe hereby Declare them the said Peter Meyor his wife and Children as well those already borne as those here-

[14] Archives of Maryland, Vol. V., p. 59.
[15] Ibid., Vol. III., p. 428.

after to be borne to be free Dennizens of this our Province of Maryland And doe further for vs our heires and Successors straightly enjoyne Constitute ordeine and Command that the said Peter Meyer be in all things held treated reputed and esteemed as one of the faythful people of us our heires and Successors borne within this our Province of Maryland And likewise and lands tenements Revenues Services and other hereditam^{ts} whatsoeu^{r} within our said Province of Maryland may inherrite or otherwise purchase receive take haue hould buy and possesse and them may occupye and enjoye Give Sell alyen and bequeathe as likewise all libertyes franchises and priviledges of this our Province of Maryland freely quietly and peaceably haue and possesse occupye and enjoye as our faythful people borne or to be borne within our said Province of Maryland without lett Molestacõn vexacõn trouble or Greivance of us our heires and Successo^{rs} and Custome to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding Giuen at Saint Marys vnder the Great Seale of our said Province of Maryland this two and twentyth day of July in the thirtyth yeare of our dominion over the said Province of Maryland Annoq domini One thousand six hundred Sixty one Wittness our Deare Brother Philip Calvert Esq^{r} our Leivetennant of our said Province of Maryland."

Accompanying this paper is the following list of names of persons who were to be included in this process of naturalization:

Axell Stille
Peter Jacobson
Marcus Sipherson
Clement Micheelson
Hendrik Hendrickson
Andrew Clementson
Peter Montson
Hendrick Mathiason
Mathias Cornelison
John Wheeler
Bartholomew Hendrickson
Cornelius Urinson
John Urinson
Andreu Toreson
Paul Johnson
Gothofrid Harmer
Jacob Micheelson
Cornelius Comages
Michaell Vandernorte

While this naturalization apparently accorded to the persons naturalized all the rights and privileges of natural-born citizens, such was evidently not the case, for at the meeting of the assembly thirteen years later, 1674, a number of these persons along with others, presented a petition asking that

they and every one of them shall from henceforth be adjudged reputed and taken as natureall borne people of this Prouince of Maryland and alsoe that they and every one of them shall and may from henceforth by the same Authority be enabled and adjudged to all intents and Purposes able to demand Challenge aske haue hold and Injoy any Lands Tenements Rents & Hereditaments within this Prouince as Heire or Heires to any of their Ancestors by Reason of any discent in fee simple feetayle Generall or Speciall or Remainder vppon and fee Tayle generall or speciall to come to them or any of them by discent in fee simple feetayle Generall Speciall or Remainder vppon any Estate tayle as aforesaid or by any other Lawfull Conveyance or Conveyances or meanes whatsoever as if they and every of them had been borne within this Prouince or were of Brittish or Irish discent as aforesaid and alsoe that they and every of them from henceforth shall and may be Enabled to prosecute maintaine & avow Justifie and defend all manner of accons suites plaints or other demands whatsoever as Liberally franckly freely Lawfully fully and securely as if all of them had been Natureall borne within the Prouince of Maryland.[16]

The most distinguished German who at that period made his home in Maryland was Augustine Herman. Although he was born at Prague, Bohemia, it is very probable that Herman was a German. He entered the service

[16] Archives of Maryland, Vol. II., p. 400. The names in this petition show how rapidly the process of anglicizing the names of foreigners proceeded. For instance, Hendrik Hendrickson had become Henry Henderson; Hendrick Mathiason, Henry Mathews; Andrew Clementson, Andrew Clements.

of the Dutch West India Company and came to New Amsterdam, where he attained a position of prominence and married a relative of Peter Stuyvesant. When the trouble between the Maryland colony and the Dutch settlers on the Delaware seemed to be reaching an acute stage on account of the actions of Col. Nathaniel Utie, who had been sent to the Delaware colony by Governor Fendall, of Maryland, and notified the settlers there that the territory in question belonged to Maryland and declared that they must either leave or recognize the authority of Maryland, Augustine Herman was sent by Stuyvesant as one of the commissioners to confer with the Maryland authorities and try to bring about a settlement of the difficulty. Their mission was a failure, but Herman seems to have been very favorably impressed with the locality and determined to make his home in Maryland. The various boundary disputes had taught Herman the importance of having a map of the territory, and he made a proposition to Lord Baltimore to the effect that he would make a map of the country if he were granted a certain amount of land with the privilege of a manor. This proposition was accepted, and in September, 1660, Herman received a grant of four thousand acres of land, to be selected where he saw fit. The tract chosen was on the Elk river, and early in the following year, having bought the land from the Indians, he settled on Bohemia Manor, as he named his acquisition. He immediately went to work on his map, which was completed in 1670. It covered the whole section of country between North Carolina and the Hudson river. In the acknowledgment of the receipt of the map Herman was informed

That His Lordship had received no small Satisfaction by the variety of that mapp, and that the Kings Majesty, His Royall

Highness, and all others commended the exactness of the work, applauding it for the best mapp that ever was drawn of any country.

Herman was naturalized by act of assembly on September 17, 1763, it being the first act of this kind passed by the assembly. It also included Herman's brother-in-law, George Hack, Garrett Ruttzn and Jacob Clauson. The record of this transaction in the "Assembly Proceedings, September–October, 1663," is as follows:[17]

Thursday Sep^{t} 17th

Then was read the pet^{n} of Augustine Herman for an Act for Naturalizacõn for himselfe Children and his brother in Lawe George Hack

Ordered that An Acte of Naturalizacõn be prepared for the Consideracõn of both howses to naturalize Garrett Ruttzn and his Children and Jacob Clauson ffreemen of this Province

. . . . . .

Ordered likewise that an Acte of Naturalizacõn be prepared for Augustine Herman, and his Children and his brother in Lawe George Hack and his wife and Children.

Herman attained considerable prominence in the colony and filled various offices. He took an active part in the quarrels arising over the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and his house was named, in 1682, as the place of meeting for Lord Baltimore and Governor Markham, of Pennsylvania, to discuss the question. It was also on Herman's land that the Labadist colony was established.[18] The Labadists were a pietistic sect founded in Germany about 1669 by Jean de Labadie. Labadie, who

[17] Archives of Maryland, Vol. I., p. 462.

[18] For a full account of the Labadists see "The Labadist Colony in Maryland," by Bartlett B. James.

was born in 1610, had been educated as a Jesuit priest, but his pronounced inclination towards mysticism, as well as his eccentricities, made him objectionable to the Society of Jesus, and he easily secured his release from that order and became a free lance. His attacks on the Roman Catholic church, and more particularly the Jesuits, led to his persecution and he was driven by the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, from one place to another. About 1650 he adopted the Calvinistic doctrines and was ordained a Protestant minister, but he soon found that, from his viewpoint, the Protestant church also needed reformation, and he attempted this reformation so vigorously that he again antagonized both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and was finally deposed from the ministry. He then established an independent church to teach the pure principles and practices of the Christian faith, as he conceived them. He attracted followers and located at different places but was compelled to move, until finally, after the death of Labadie, the colony located at Weiward, in Friesland. The needs of the colony required more land for their support than they could procure at Weiward, and in 1679 the Weiward assembly sent Peter Sluyter and Jasper Danckers to America to look for a location for a new colony. These two men traveled under the names of P. Vorstman and J. Schilders. While in New York they made the acquaintance of Augustine Herman's son Ephraim and accompanied him to Maryland, where they met the elder Herman. The two Labadists were much pleased with the locality and Herman was very favorably impressed with them. They were very anxious to secure part of his land for their colony, but while he would not agree to sell them any of it he became so entangled with them that later on he was compelled by legal action to

transfer part of his estate to them.[19] The two commissioners returned to Weiward to make their report to the assembly, and in 1683 brought back with them the nucleus for a colony and, through legal action, compelled Herman to transfer to them nearly four thousand acres of land, consisting of four necks of land eastwardly from the first creek that empties into Bohemia river, from the north or northeast to near the old St. Augustine, or Manor church.[20] The colony did not grow very rapidly and never amounted to much more than one hundred persons. It was dominated by Sluyter, who assumed the title of bishop, and who gradually managed to secure title to most of the land. He exacted rigid obedience from every member of the community, to whom was assigned some part of the work. Some of them had to see to the cooking, others to the housework. The fields had to be cultivated by some, while others looked after the stock. "The different families had dwellings according to their needs, though, by partitioning off the larger compartments, strict economy of space was observed. All rooms were at all times open to the pastors and to those who held oversight in their name. Those who joined the community resigned into the common stock all their possessions. Individuality in attire was suppressed. Degrading tasks were assigned to those suspected of pride. Samuel Bownas, a minister of the Society of Friends, in the record of his visit to the community gives a more particular account of their table discipline than can be found elsewhere. He says: 'After we had dined we took our leave, and a friend, my guide, went with me and brought me to a people called Labadists, where we were civilly entertained in their way. When

[19] James, "The Labadist Colony in Maryland," p. 35.
[20] Ibid., p. 38.

supper came in, it was placed upon a large table in a large room, where, when all things were ready, came in at a call, twenty men or upwards, but no women. We all sat down, they placing me and my companion near the head of the table, and having passed a short space, one pulled off his hat, but not so the rest till a short space after, and then they, one after another, pulled all their hats off, and in that uncovered posture sat silent uttering no word that we could hear for nearly half a quarter of an hour, and as they did not uncover at once, neither did they cover themselves again at once, but as they put on their hats fell to eating not regarding those who were still uncovered, so that it might be ten minutes time or more between the first and last putting on of their hats. I afterward queried with my companion as to their conduct, and he gave for an answer that they held it unlawful to pray till they felt some inward motion for the same, and that secret prayer was more acceptable than to utter words, and that it was most proper for every one to pray as moved thereto by the spirit in their own minds. I likewise queried if they had no women amongst them. He told me they had, but the women ate by themselves and the men by themselves, having all things in common respecting their household affairs, so that none could claim any more right than another to any part of their stock, whether in trade or husbandry.' "[21]

According to the belief of the Labadists the church was a community of holy persons who had been born again from sin, held together by the love of truth as it is in Jesus Christ. They laid great stress on the power of the Holy Ghost, operating not only through the scriptures and the administration of the sacraments, but also by direct communication with the souls of the elect. The presence of the Holy Ghost was indicated by the conduct of the

[21] Ibid., p. 16.

VIRGINIA
AND
MARYLAND
Cape Henry
Cape Charles
The Great Bay of Chesapeake
THE NORTH
Published by Authority of his Ma^tie
Augustine Herman and Thomas Withinbrooke
A Scale of 8 English Leagues

G
A
M
A
Y
L
A
ANNE ARVNDELL County
BALTIMORE County
TALBOT
CÆCIL
DORCHESTER
D
N
NEW JARSY
PARS
at present
Inhabited Only or
most
By
Indians
W. Faithorne Sculp.

MAP, 1670.

believer. They did not believe in infant baptism because it could not be foretold whether the child would grow up in the fear of God or in sin. To them baptism was the sealing of a new covenant with God and insured the washing away of sins. They held that the believers and unbelievers should be kept apart, and carried this doctrine to such a length that they believed it was the duty of a husband and wife to separate if either were not of the elect. They held themselves as freed from allegiance to any law.

"Labadism," says James,[22] "was essentially a mystical form of faith, teaching supreme reliance upon the inward illumination of the Spirit. And yet the works of the Labadists disclose a high form of Christian faith and aspiration. Whatever its defects, and the opportunities for hypocritical pretence which it offered, Labadism was yet a standard of faith and conduct which no one could conform to without at the same time exemplifying high Christian graces."

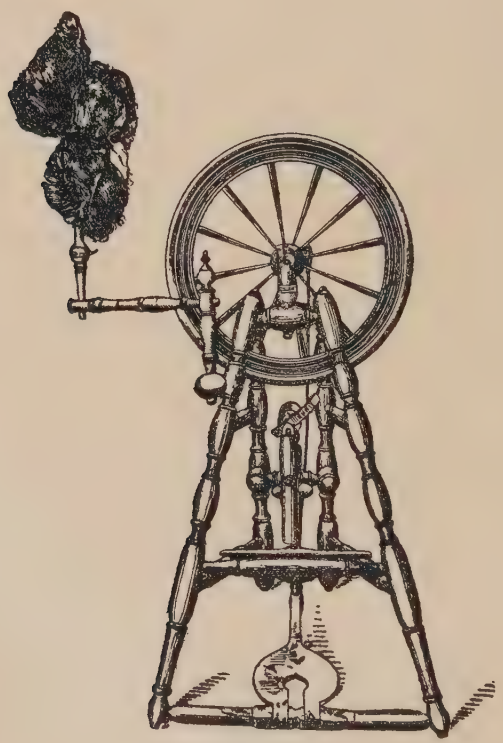
The Labadist colony on Bohemia river ceased to exist as such shortly after the year 1720.

According to Weishaar,[23] other Germans who settled in Maryland prior to 1700 were Martin Faulkner, who was granted 150 acres of land in Anne Arundel county, September 23, 1680; Daniel Hast, Somerset county, August 30, 1680; Robert Knapp, September 22, 1681; Christopher Geist, August 10, 1684; William Gross, October 24, 1684; Richard Schippe; John Leniger, October 10, 1683; Rudolph Brandt, June 12, 1686; William Blankenstein, about 1685; John Falkner, 1685; Thomas Faulkner, June 12, 1688; William Gross, May 2, 1689; William Lange, November 19, 1691; Robert Sadler, April 4, 1689.

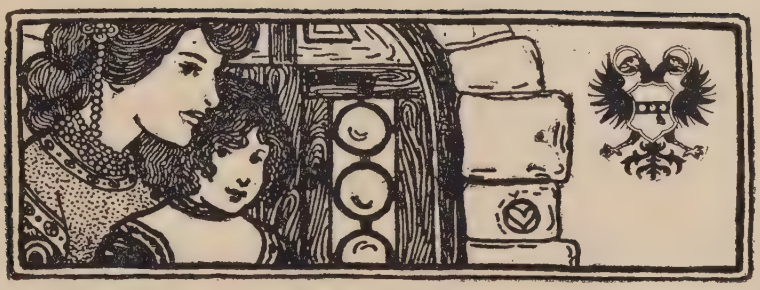
[22] "The Labadist Colony in Maryland," p. 14.

[23] Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Vol. XV., p. 20.

These are practically all the Germans who had settled in the colony before 1700. Compared with those of other nationalities they were few in number and were not of sufficient importance to make any impression in considering the character of the inhabitants. Maryland was still English in all respects and it remained so until the large influx of Pennsylvania-Germans a third of a century later.



SPINNING WHEEL.



CHAPTER III.

The Germans in Pennsylvania.

FROM the time that Moses led the hosts of Israel out of Egypt toward the Promised Land history records no such exodus of a people as that which took place from the Rhenish provinces of Germany in the early years of the eighteenth century. The oppressed and impoverished inhabitants went, not by scores, nor even by hundreds, but literally by thousands. In this day we can scarcely realize the extent of the emigration which took place from Germany at that time, nor the causes which brought it about. These causes were varied, though it was the ruthless devastation of the valley of the Rhine, commonly known as the Palatinate, during the Thirty Years' War and those which followed it, "more than any other cause that started the great and steady stream of German blood, muscle and brains to Pennsylvania's shores."[24]

[24] Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., in Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. VII., p. 172.

Almost with the opening of the Thirty Years' War, in 1620, the troops of the Emperor Ferdinand II. of Germany, under Tilly and Maximilian, devastated the Protestant lands and cities of the Palatinate, and began the ravages which marked that war. The Protestants retaliated, with the result that the country was almost depopulated. Before this war the Palatinate was credited with a population of half a million souls; at the close of the struggle a census showed less than one third of the original number.[25] It has been estimated that in the first half of the seventeenth century two thirds of the people of Germany perished from war, pestilence and famine. One of the effects of the war was the destruction of almost all trade and commerce. During the war Alsace, adjoining the Palatinate, was so terribly devastated by the French that the German Emperor found himself unable to hold it. The population was greatly reduced in numbers and much of the land was left uncultivated.

With the end of the Thirty Years' War the impoverished and destitute inhabitants of Germany hoped for a respite from their troubles and for a chance to rebuild their homes and rehabilitate their fortunes. But that hope was in vain. In 1674, during the Dutch War, Turenne pushed forward into the Palatinate, defeated the imperialists at Sinzheim, and deliberately destroyed the whole country. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, large numbers of Huguenots left France and settled in the Palatinate. The French king becoming angered because the Palatine Elector gave shelter to these persecuted people, sent Louvois with one hundred thousand soldiers, with orders to destroy the Palatinate. "How well this horde of murderers did his bidding," says Dr.

[25] Ibid., p. 125.

Sachse, "is a matter of history. Even to the present day, after the lapse of two centuries, the line of march may be traced from the Drachenfels to Heidelberg. Crumbling walls, ruined battlements and blown-up towers still remain as mementoes of French vandalism."[26]

But even this was not the end of their chapter of horrors, for with the opening of the eighteenth century the War of the Spanish Succession caused the country again to be overrun, and what little the previous marauders had left was destroyed by the flames and battles of another invasion. The few people who were left were in the direst poverty. Even those who a few years before were well-to-do, were now no better off than their poorest neighbors, for with their homes destroyed and their fields uncultivated they had nothing, and no prospects of having anything.

But, as though the trial by the sword and flames was not enough, nature did what she could to still further afflict the stricken inhabitants of the Palatinate. The winter of 1708–9 was unusually severe. The cold was intense and long-continued, and the half-starved and destitute inhabitants were illy-prepared to withstand the rigors of that unusually severe winter, so that many of them perished from the cold. To the little remnant that was left it seemed as though they had been forsaken by God as well as by man, and they were ready to turn in any direction that offered an escape from the terrible situation in which they found themselves.

At this juncture the agents sent out by William Penn, and to a lesser degree by some of the proprietors of some of the other American colonies, made their appearance and distributed broadcast glowing accounts of the new

[26] Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. VII., p. 170.

homes that might easily be founded in the land across the sea. The poverty-stricken, starving people jumped at the chance that was offered and rose *en masse* and made their way as best they could to the nearest seaports and started for England as the first stage in their journey to the new home beyond the sea. They went literally by the thousand. In May or June, 1709, the Germans began to arrive in London, and by October between 13,000 and 14,000 had come.[27] The coming into England of so large a number of destitute people with no means of sustenance presented to the English people a problem which had to be met promptly. As Dr. Diffenderffer says, "Never before, perhaps, were emigrants seeking new homes so poorly provided with money and the other necessaries of life to support them on their way as were these Palatines. . . . From the day of their arrival in London they required the assistance of the English to keep them from starving. There was little or no work; bread was dear, and the only thing to do was to bridge the crisis by raising money by public subscriptions."

A large amount of money was collected and by direction of Queen Anne one thousand tents were taken from the Tower of London and set up in the country outside of London. In these camps many of the emigrants were sheltered, while others were housed in barns and warehouses, and some in private houses. The government took active steps to get rid of the foreigners as quickly as possible, and eventually they were disposed of. Nearly four thousand of them were sent to Ireland,[28] where their descend-

[27] Frank R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., in Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. VII., p. 266.

[28] Dr. Diffenderffer is of the opinion that if these German colonists did not actually establish the linen industry in Ireland they gave it such an impulse as to make it the most important textile industry in that country.

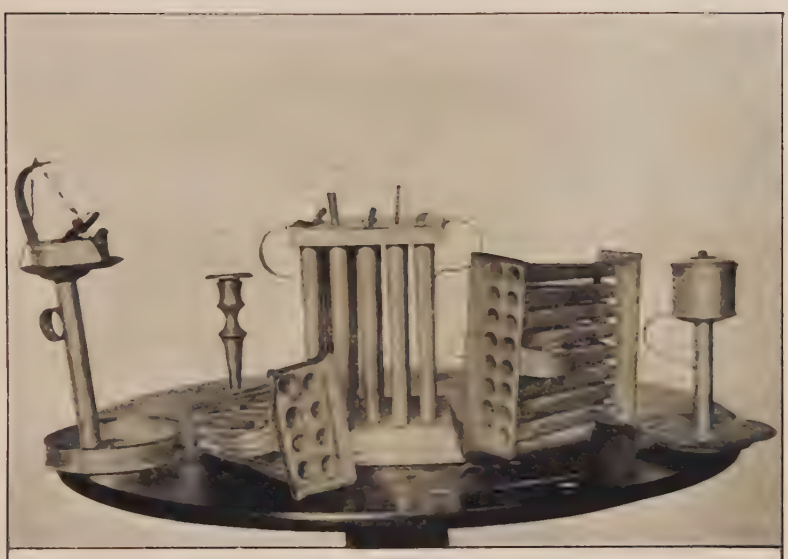
ants live to this day. Many of the Roman Catholics were returned to the places from which they had come, and a large party, numbering over three thousand, was sent to the New York colony, many of whom eventually found their way down into Pennsylvania and settled in the Tulpehocken region.

This was practically the beginning of the German emigration to America, although the Crefeld colony under Pastorius had made a settlement at Germantown in 1683 and Kocherthal, with his fifty-three companions, had founded Newburg on the Hudson at the beginning of 1709. A constant stream of German colonists followed, at first slowly, then in larger numbers, the greater number going to Pennsylvania. By 1717 so many of them had arrived in that colony that alarm was excited in the minds of the authorities. In that year Governor Keith thought the matter of sufficient importance to recommend that the masters of all vessels bringing in foreign passengers be required to furnish lists of all such persons and that the emigrants be required to take the oath of allegiance. Through this recommendation being, at a later period, enacted into a law a fairly accurate record of the number of German emigrants who came into Pennsylvania has been preserved. The exact number is not known, as many came before the records were begun, in 1727, and some of these records appear to have been lost, but Professor Oscar Kuhns has gone over the lists very carefully and has figured out that between 1727 and 1775 the number of Germans who came to Pennsylvania was about 68,872.[29] The authorities of the province did not look kindly upon this influx of German emigrants. Secretary James Logan was particularly outspoken in his opposition to them, and on a

[29] "The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania," p. 57.

number of occasions wrote unfavorably concerning them. On march 25, 1727, he wrote to John Penn: "We have many thousands of foreigners, mostly Palatines, so-called, already in y^e^ Countrey, of whom near 1500 came in this last summer; many of them are a surly people, divers Papists amongst them, and y^e^ men generally well arm'd. We have from the North of Ireland, great numbers yearly, 8 or 9 Ships this last ffall discharged at Newcastle. Both of these sorts sitt frequently down on any spott of vacant Land they can find, without asking questions; the last Palatines say there will be twice the number next year, & y^e^ Irish say y^e^ same of their People."

The proprietaries were naturally influenced by the unfavorable reports sent to them concerning the German emigrants and in consequence, although they were doubtless actuated by other motives, determined to have them settle on the outlying lands so that they might serve as a bulwark between the inhabitants of the more-thickly settled parts of the province and the hostile Indians. In 1729, John, Thomas and Richard Penn wrote to Secretary Logan: "As to the Palatines, you have often taken notice of to us, wee apprehend have Lately arrived in greater Quantities than may be consistent with the welfare of the Country, and therefore, applied ourself to our Councill to find a proper way to prevent it, the result of which was, that an act of assembly should be got or endeavoured at, and sent us over immediately, when we would take sufficient Care to get it approved by the King. With this resolution we acquainted the Governour, by Cap^t^ Stringfellow, to Maryland, the 25^th^ Feb^ry^ a Duplicate of which we have since sent by another shipp, both w^ch^ times we also enclos'd Letters for thee; but as to any other people coming over who are the subjects of the British



TALLOW CANDLE MOULDS.
FLAX HACKLES.

Crown, we can't Conceive it anyways practicable to prohibit it: but supposing they are natives of Ireland & Roman Catholicks, they ought not to settle till they have taken the proper Oaths to the King, & Promis'd Obedience to the Laws of the Country, and, indeed, we Can't Conceive it unreasonable that if they are Inclinable to settle, they should be oblig'd to settle, either Backwards to Sasquehannah or north in y^e^ Country beyond the other settlements, as we had mentioned before in relation to the Palatines; but we must desire Care may be taken that they are not suffered to settle towards Maryland, on any account."[30]

Not only did the provincial authorities feel apprehension concerning the large number of Germans who were coming into the colony, but the same impression prevailed among the English generally, and even as late as 1751 Benjamin Franklin said: "Why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and, by herding together, establish their language and manners, to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglicifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?" Franklin later realized that he had made a mistake in speaking so contemptuously of this element which formed so large a proportion of the population of Pennsylvania, and tried to smooth it over by trying to make it appear that he had used the word "boor" in the sense of "farmer."

But in spite of the opposition to them the Germans continued to come in increasing numbers. It is said that in 1719 six thousand German emigrants came to Pennsylvania, but as accurate records were not kept at that time it is

[30] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII., p. 140.

probable that this estimate is exaggerated. In 1727, when fairly accurate records were kept, over twelve hundred landed, while in 1732 the number was between two and three thousand. As the eastern section of the country became more thickly settled the Germans spread out to the west and southwest and settled in the more remote parts of the colony, often on land not yet purchased from the Indians, as was the case with the party from Schoharie county, New York, who made their way through the unbroken forests, following the Susquehanna, and settled at Tulpehocken. They were part of the party who settled in Livingston Manor, in 1710, and after spending some years there had gone to Schoharie, whence they were again impelled to move. The Indians naturally resented this encroachment upon their lands and frequently assumed a hostile attitude, making attacks on unprotected settlements. The settlers appealed to the authorities for aid in repelling these attacks, but, in addition to the fact that the Quaker authorities were opposed to furnishing means for warfare and bloodshed, they were almost continually having controversies with the governors and proprietaries, and but little was done in the way of furnishing protection, and the inhabitants of the outlying sections were usually left to their own devices.

The condition of these settlers is well illustrated in a letter[31] written by Casper Wistar from Philadelphia, under date of November 8, 1732:

Being importuned daily by so many of our countrymen to relieve them from the great distress, into which they have come, partially through their own thoughtlessness, and partially by the persuasion of others, and it being absolutely impossible to help all,

[31] Quoted by Rev. Dr. Henry E. Jacobs, in Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. VIII., p. 142.

sympathy for the poor people still in the Fatherland, and who, before undertaking such a journey, have time to reflect, constrains me to give a true account of the conditions of things in this new land. I make this particular request that these facts may be reported everywhere, that no one may have the excuse for learning them only from his own personal experience.

Some years ago this was a very fruitful country, and, like all new countries, but sparsely inhabited. Since the wilderness required much labor, and the inhabitants were few, ships that arrived with German emigrants were cordially welcomed. They were immediately discharged, and by their labor very easily earned enough to buy some land. Pennsylvania is but a small part of America, and has been open now for some years, so that not only many thousand Germans, but English and Irish have settled there, and filled all parts of the country; so that all who now seek land must go far into the wilderness, and purchase it at a higher price.

Many hardships also are experienced on the voyage. Last year one of the ships was driven about the ocean for twenty-four weeks, and of its one hundred and fifty passengers, more than one hundred starved to death. To satisfy their hunger, they caught mice, and rats; and a mouse brought half a gulden. When the survivors at last reached land, their sufferings were aggravated by their arrest, and the exaction from them of the entire fare for both living and dead. This year ten ships with three thousand souls have arrived.

One of the vessels was seventeen weeks on the way and about sixty of its passengers died at sea. All the survivors are sick and feeble, and what is worst, poor and without means; hence, in a community like this where money is scarce, they are a burden, and every day there are deaths among them. Every person over fourteen years old, must pay six doubloons (about 90 dollars) passage from Rotterdam, and those between four and fourteen must pay half that amount. When one is without the money, his only resource is to sell himself for a term from three to eight years or more, and to serve as a slave. Nothing but a poor suit of clothes

is received when his time has expired. Families endure a great trial when they see the father purchased by one master, the mother by another, and each of the children by another. All this for the money only that they owe the Captain. And yet they are only too glad, when after waiting long, they at last find some one willing to buy them; for the money of the country is well nigh exhausted. In view of these circumstances, and the tedious, expensive and perilous voyage, you should not advise any one for whom you wish well to come hither. All I can say is that those who think of coming should weigh well what has been above stated, and should count the cost, and, above all, should go to God for counsel and inquire whether it be His will, lest they may undertake that whereof they will afterward repent. If ready to hazard their lives and to endure patiently all the trials of the voyage, they must further think whether over and above the cost they will have enough to purchase cattle, and to provide for other necessities. No one should rely upon friends whom he may have here; for they have enough to do, and many a one reckons in this without his host. Young and able-bodied persons, who can do efficient work, can, nevertheless, always find some one who will purchase them for two, three or four years; but they must be unmarried. For young married persons, particularly when the wife is with child, no one cares to have. Of mechanics there are a considerable number already here; but a good mechanic who can bring with him sufficient capital to avoid beginning with debt, may do well, although of almost all classes and occupations, there are already more than too many. All this I have, out of sincere love for the interests of my neighbor, deemed it necessary to communicate concerning the present condition in Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER IV.

The Movement to Maryland.

DURING the first century of its existence the colony of Maryland did not grow very rapidly and it was, relatively, of minor importance. The territory actually settled consisted chiefly of a narrow strip along Chesapeake Bay, the colonists showing but little inclination to locate very far from tidewater. This was but natural, for everyone was devoting his energies to raising tobacco, and to dispose of this it had to be shipped abroad, and the numerous inlets along the coast afforded ample opportunity for this shipment, without the necessity of a long haul to the port of lading. It is curious to note how every settler devoted all his time and labor to the raising of tobacco, without regard to reason, and to the exclusion of the necessaries of life; but tobacco was the only medium of barter and exchange, and all debts, public and private, were settled in that commodity. Naturally, therefore, everyone wanted to raise as much tobacco as possible, and the result was that but little attention was paid to the quality, and the consequent lowering of value of the prod-

uct brought the young colony into financial difficulties with all the evils attendant on a depreciated currency. The enactment of laws requiring the settlers to raise a certain amount of corn and other commodities had scarcely any effect, and it was not until 1748, more than a hundred years after the founding of the colony, that an effective law regulating the production of tobacco was enacted. It was this restriction of the settlements to the neighborhood of the coast and the evils arising from the unlimited cultivation of tobacco that undoubtedly limited the growth of the colony, although the feudal system in force in the tenure of land had something to do with it. The colony was practically at a standstill. In 1689, fifty-six years after its foundation, it had a population of but 25,000. In the next twenty-one years, to 1710, the population increased but five thousand, and in 1733 the number of taxable inhabitants, including all males above the age of fifteen, was but 31,470; but about this time the German settlers began to come into Maryland from Pennsylvania, although it was not until some years later that they came in sufficient numbers to materially affect the progress of the colony. When this movement reached its height the effect was decidedly noticeable, and by 1756 the population had increased to 130,000, and by far the greater number of these were Pennsylvania-Germans.[32]

When the Germans began to arrive in Pennsylvania in large numbers in the early part of the eighteenth century, and spread out over that colony to the west and south, it was but natural, in view of the unsettled condition of the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, that some of them should get over the dividing line into Maryland.

[32] Louis P. Hennighausen, in Report of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, Vol. VI., p. 14.

As early as 1710 this has been noted, for on October 27 of that year the journal of the Maryland House of Delegates records that

> This House being informed several Palatines were come to settle in this Province & being willing and desirous to encourage those poor People in their Industry have resolved that those Palatines with their Servants shall be free this present year from paying any publick, County, or Parish Levy or Charge, to which they pray the Concurrence of the Honble Council.[33]

But there was no marked movement of the Germans from Pennsylvania into Maryland until the latter part of the second decade of the eighteenth century, and then one of the chief causes in bringing about this movement was the indifference of the Quaker authorities of Pennsylvania to the safety of the inhabitants of the back counties. They were well satisfied to have these sturdy Germans on the western frontier to serve as a barrier between themselves and the hostile Indians, but they were very unwilling to go to any expense to provide the settlers with means of protecting themselves. Among the numerous appeals to the Pennsylvania authorities was the following petition from a number of settlers in Colebrook Valley, asking for protection from the attacks of the Indians who had already attacked the settlers near Falckner's Swamp and Goschenhoppen:[34]

> To his Excellency Patrick Gordon Esqr Governor Generall In chie(f) Over the Province of pencilvania And the Territoris Belonging Bonbrenors township and the Adjacences Belonging May ye 10th 1728
>
> We think It fit to Address your Excellency for Relief for your Excellency must know That we have Sufered and Is Like to Sufer

[33] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XVII., p. 524.

[34] Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, Vol. I., p. 213.

By the Ingians they have fell upon ye Back Inhabitors about falkners Swamp & New Coshahopin Therefore We the humble Petitionors With our poor Wives And Children Do humbly Beg of your Excellency To Take It into Consideration And Relieve us the Petitionors hereof Whos Lives Lie at Stake With us and our poor Wives & Children that Is more to us than Life Therefore We the humble Petitionors hereof Do Desire An Answer from your Excellency By ye Bearor With Speed So no More at present from your poor Afflicted People Whose names are here Subscribed

John Roberts
Jn Pawling
Henry Pannebeckers
Wm Lane
John Jacobs
Isaac Dubois
Israell Morris
Benjamen Fry
Jacob op den graef
Johannes Scholl
Richard Adams
George Poger
Adam Sollom
Dirtman Kolb
Martin Kolb
Gabriel Showler
Anthony halmon
John Isaac Klein
Hans Detweiler
William Bitts
Heinrich Rutt
Hubburt Castle
Henery Fentlinger
Christian Weber
Gerhart de hesse

Henrich Kolb
John fret
Paul fret.
Wm Smith
Peter Rambo
David young
Christopher Schmit
Garret Clemens
Johannes Reichardt
Mathias Tyson
Peter Johnson
Jost hyt
Christian Alibock
hans Rife
Daniel Stowford
Abraham Schwartz.
Johann Vallentin Kratz.
John Johnson
Colly hafilfinger
Nickolas huldiman
Michal Sigler
Christian Stoner
Johannes Garber
John huldiman
Claus Johnson

To his Excellency Patrick Gordon Esqr Gournor Generall. In the
Our the Province of Pensilvania And the Territorie thereunto Belonging
Bearers towship and the Adjacanes Belonging may ye 10th 1729
Sire think It fit to Address Your Excellency for Helpe for your Excellency must know
That we have suffered and do Lise to suffer By the Indians they have fall upon ye
Back Inhabitors about fallkners Swamp & now Cocalapin Therefore We the humble
Petitioners With our poor Wives And Children Do humbly Beg of your Excellency To
Take It into Consideration And Relieve us the Petioners Lives of Wes Lives Lies
At Stake With us and our poor Wives & Children that Is more to us then Life
Therefore We the humble Petitioners Hereof Do Desire An Answer from your
Excellency By ye Bearer With Speed So no more At present from Your poor
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Jacob op den Graef
Johannes Kolb
Richard Adams
George Roger
Adam Kolbon
Sitman Kolb
Martin Kolb
Gabriel Shoemaker
Anthony Kalmon
John Jacob Klein
Jacob Mayer
William Rittenhouse
Gerrit Rittenhouse
Hubbert Castle
Honory Pastorius
Christian Peter
Gerhard Hoffe

Lowrentz Tunzaman
Richard Jacob
Fromanus Christmus
Peter Lein
Jacob Engner
George Weimer
Conrad Cupor
Jacob Mayright
Christian Myghsmanger
Conrad Krist
Jacob Kolb
Hans Wolly Bergy
John Mayr
Hendrick Kolb
John Frost
Paul Frost
Wm Smith
Peter Rambo
David young
Wm Isaac Jansen
Garret Clemens
Johannes Rawsaell
Mathias Tyson
Peter Johnson
York Cut
Christian Alibach

Hans Rise
Daniel Stonesford
Abraham Young Jr Holgate
Johann Wallenstein Revert
John Johnson
Colly Kapilfinger
Nicholas Kuderman
Michel Keyser
Christian Stamer
Johannes Gerber
John Kuderman
Claus Johnson
Nicholas Keyser
Johannes Keyser
Jacob Shiner
Michall Crop
Peter Rise
George Rise
George Meid
Boston Smith
Edward Delaver
Christian Cook
Jacob Custor
Jacob Shofred
Honory Shofred
Paul Frost Junior

PETITION FROM THE SETTLERS IN COLEBROOK VALLEY, PA.

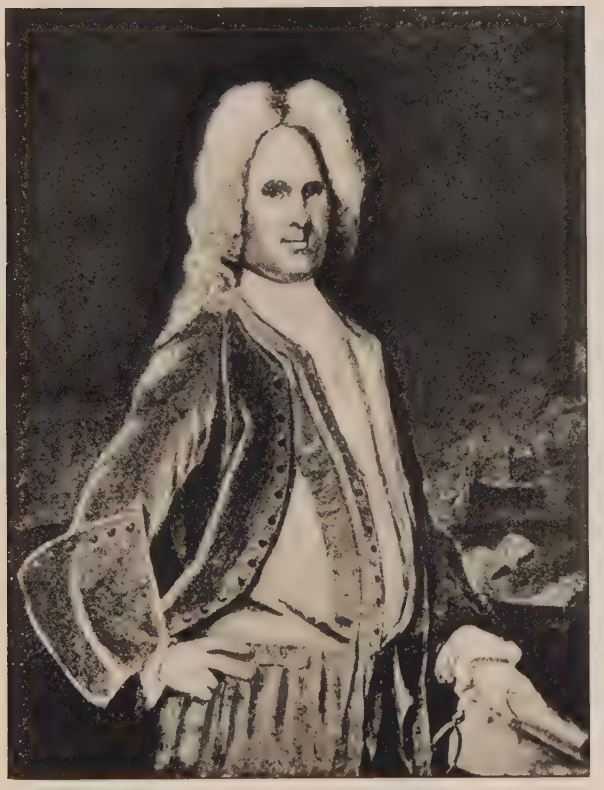
Lorentz Bingamon	Nicholas hicks
Richard Jacob	Johannes Lisher
Hermanes Küsters	Jacob Shimor
Peter Bun	Michall Cross
Jacob Engners	Peter Rife
Hans ————	George Rife
Conrad Cusson	George Mire
Jacob Mernke	Postron Smith
Christian Nighswanger	Edward Scherer
Conrad Knight	Jacob Crontor
Jacob Kolb	Jacob Stoferd
hons Wolly Bergy	Henrey Stoferd
John Mior	Paul fret. Junior.

This appeal, like so many others of similar import, brought no response from the authorities. Among the signers of this petition was Jost Hyt, or Jost Hite, as he is generally designated in the Virginia records. Hite, who appears to have been a man imbued with the courage of his convictions, apparently became disgusted with the manner in which the rights of the inhabitants were ignored by the authorities, and determined to seek a home in some other locality where the safety of the settlers would not be a matter of indifference to those in authority. Thus was started a movement which resulted in the peopling of a state.

In 1709 Franz Ludwig Michel and Baron Christopher von Graffenried, from Berne, Switzerland, established a colony in North Carolina, but on account of the Indian massacres, as well as the fact that the settlers were not able to obtain land upon as favorable terms as they had expected, most of the colonists removed into the colony of Virginia. Here they were favorably received by Governor Alexander Spottswood, who established a colony for

them at Germanna, where he erected an iron-works in which a number of the foreigners found employment. This settlement, however, did not prosper and soon became extinct, and the inhabitants located in other parts of the colony. The presence of these Germans with their thrift and industry naturally excited a desire to have more of the same kind of people in the colony, and in 1730 Isaac and John Van Meter, two Dutchmen whose father had settled on the Hudson, obtained from the Governor of Virginia a patent for 40,000 acres of land in that colony, on condition that they would settle two hundred German families on the land ceded to them. In looking for a place where he might locate under more favorable conditions than he had found to obtain in Pennsylvania, Jost Hite made an agreement with the Van Meters and became a partner in the plan to found a German colony in Virginia, and in 1732, with his family, his son-in-law, George Bowman, Jacob Chrisman and Paul Froman, with their families, and several others—sixteen families in all—left York, crossed the Potomac, and settled near where Winchester now stands. Although a little before this, as early as 1729, a few Germans had made their way down from Pennsylvania into Maryland and settled near the Monocacy river, this settlement of Hite's may be considered as the entering wedge which started the great movement of the Germans from Pennsylvania into Maryland and Virginia. In pursuance of their plan Hite and Van Meter traveled through the German settlements to the north and extolled the advantages of the territory they were exploiting, and thus started the movement towards the south.

Charles, Lord Baltimore, becoming aware of this movement, and desiring to obtain settlers for the unoccupied



ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD,

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA. BORN 1676; DIED 1740.

western portion of his colony, issued the following proclamation:

By the Right Honourable Charles Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore &c

Wee being Desireous to Increase the Number of Honest people within our Province of Maryland and willing to give Suitable Encouragement to such to come and Reside therein Do offer the following Terms:

1st That any person haveing a ffamily who shall within three Years come and Actually Settle with his or her Family on any of the back Lands on the Northern or Western Boundarys of our said province not already taken up between the Rivers Potomack and Susquehana (where wee are Informed there are Several large Bodies of Fertile Lands fit for Tillage, Which may be Seen aithout any Expence) Two hundred Acres of the said Lands in ffee Simple Without paying any part of the fforty Shillings Sterling for every hundred Acres payable to Us by the Conditions of Plantations, And without paying any Quit Rents in three Years after the first Settlement, and then paying four Shillings Sterling for Every hundred of Acres to us or our Heirs for every Year after the expiration of the said three Years.

2d To allow to Each Single person Male or Female above the Age of Thirty & not under Fifteen One hundred Acres of the said Lands upon the same Terms as mentioned in the preceding Article.

3d That We will Concour in any reasonable Method that shall be proposed for the Ease of such New Comers in the payment of their Taxes for some Years And We doe Assure all such that they shall be as well Secured in their Liberty & property in Maryland as any of his Majesty's Subjects in any part of the British Plantations in America without Exception And to the End all persons Desireous to come into and Reside in Maryland may be Assured that these Terms will be Justly & Punctually performed on our part Wee

have hereunto sett our hand and Seal at Arms, at Annapolis this Second day of March Annoq Domini 1732.[35]

This exceedingly liberal offer of land at a rental of about one cent per acre per annum, with no rent to be paid for three years, naturally attracted the attention of the emigrants, and, as Hennighausen says,[36] "the settlers on their way to Spottsylvania, seeing the rich soil of Frederick county offered to them on such liberal terms, did not proceed further, but stuck their spades into the ground right then and there."

A little later another element that had considerable weight in inducing many already settled in Pennsylvania to go farther south was the fact that the winter of 1740–1 was an intensely cold one. Not only were there prolonged periods of intense cold, but an unusual quantity of snow fell, so that there was a great deal of suffering all through the settlements of Pennsylvania.[37] While the severe weather prevailed over the most of America, and was almost as marked in Virginia as it was in Pennsylvania, many of the inhabitants of the latter colony, under the impression that farther south the climate would be less rigorous, removed from the settlements already formed in Pennsylvania, and went to Maryland and Virginia.

[35] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXVIII., p. 25.

[36] Op. cit., p. 15.

[37] Blodget's "Climatology of the United States," p. 144, says: "It was commonly called 'the cold winter.'"

CHAPTER V.

The Monocacy Road.

BEFORE the coming of the white man the original owners of the American continent had made many paths, or "trails," as they were called, running from one section of the country to another for the use of their war parties, or on their hunting expeditions. At first, before any roads were cut, the settlers found it convenient to continue using these trails, as they were generally the shortest route between any two points. They were suitable for travelers on foot or for pack-horses, but could not be used for wagons, and as the needs of the settlers developed many of the Indian trails were widened into roads, and not a few of the well-known highways of to-day are but the amplification of the by-paths over which the redman found his way through the primeval forest. One of these Indian trails started at a point on the Susquehanna river near where Wrightsville now stands and extended through the territory now forming parts of York and Adams

counties, Pennsylvania, to a point on the Monocacy river near the boundary between the provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, thence to the Potomac river, crossing the South Mountain through a gap known as Crampton's Gap. It was over this trail that the first Germans went from Pennsylvania to Maryland, in 1710, and later when the movement became more extensive the same route was used. When communication between the settlements in Maryland and Pennsylvania became more frequent the necessity of having better means of travel became urgent and steps were taken to have a road properly laid out. In 1739 application was made to the Lancaster county court for the appointment of viewers for such a road. The record of this proceeding may be of interest. It is found in "Road Docket No. 1, from 1729 to 1742," and is as follows:

"1739. At a Court of General Quarter Sessions, held at Lancaster, the Seventh day of August, in the thirtieth year of His Majesty's reign Anno Dom. before John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Thomas Edwards, Samuel Jones, Edward Smout, Thomas Lindley, Anthony Shaw, Samuel Boyd, James Armstrong and Emanuel Carpenter, Esqrs. Justices of our Lord the King, the Peace of our said Lord the King, in the said county to keep, as also divers ffelonys, tresspasses &c other misdeeds in the said county committed to hear & determine assigned.

"Upon the Petition of Several of the Inhabitants of the township of Hallem, on the West side of Susquehanah, setting forth the necessity of a road from John Wright's fferry, towards Potomac river, and praying that persons may be appointed to lay out the Same: Ordered by ye Court, that Joshua Minshall, Henry Hendricks, ffrancis Worley Jun^{r}, Christian Crowl, Michael Tanner & Woolrick Whistler view and, if they or any four of them se cause that they lay the same by course and distance, ffrom the said fferry

to the line dividing the Provinces, and report ye same to ye next Court."

At a Court of General Quarter Sessions held on the 5th and 6th days of February, 1740, the following return of the viewers was handed to the Court:

"The Persons appointed at the August Court last & continued to November Court following do report that, pursuant to order, they have viewed and laid out a road from Susquehanah river South Westerly, towards the Province line, according to the courses & distances following, viz.: Beginning at the said river, in the line between the lands of John Wright Jun. and Samuel Taylor; thence South 80 deg. West 430 per. 71 deg. West. 562 per, to Crawl's run: South 70 deg. West, 430 per. to a marked white oak. West 76 per. to the Canoe run; South 68 deg. West 254 per. to a black oak; South 53 deg. West 540 per. to the West branch of Grist creek; South 66 deg. West 280 per.; South 84 deg. West 264 perches; West 166 per. to Little Codorus creek; South 82 lor; thence South 80 deg. West 430 per. 71 deg. West. 562 per. South 72 deg.: West 260 pr. to Big Codorus creek; continuing the same course 360 per. to Perrin's run, West 246 per. to Springle's field; South 72 deg. West 80 per: South-West 160 per; South 60 deg. West, 126 per. to the point of a steep hill: South 48 deg. West 134 per. South 69 deg. West 200 per. South 58 deg. West 240 per. to Loreman's run: South, 57 deg. West 40 per.: South 71 deg. West, 166 per. to a black oak, by Chrn Oyster's South 55 deg. West, 172 per. South 40 deg. West 330 per, South 52 deg. West 172 per. to Nicholas lougher's run: South 44 deg. West 380 per. South 58 deg. West 376 per.: South 22 deg. West 120 per. to the West branch of the Codorus creek: South 30 deg. West 66 per.: South 36 deg. West, 60 per.: South 26 deg. West 66 per.; South 104 per."

Here the court record of this proceeding concerning the road ends, but from the fact that the road was constructed

it is quite probable that the report of the viewers was confirmed.

By an act of the Maryland assembly this road was continued to the Potomac river. It practically followed the old Indian trail and was known as the Monocacy Road. It was over this road that Benjamin Franklin, in 1755, sent the 150 wagons and 200 horses he had secured in Pennsylvania to General Braddock in preparation for the ill-fated campaign against Fort Duquesne. Having learned that Braddock had determined to send officers into Pennsylvania to seize the horses and wagons needed, in order to prevent such a catastrophe Franklin offered to secure the necessary equipment, and, making his headquarters at Lancaster, he sent the horses and wagons he was able to obtain over the Monocacy Road to Braddock's camp at Frederick.

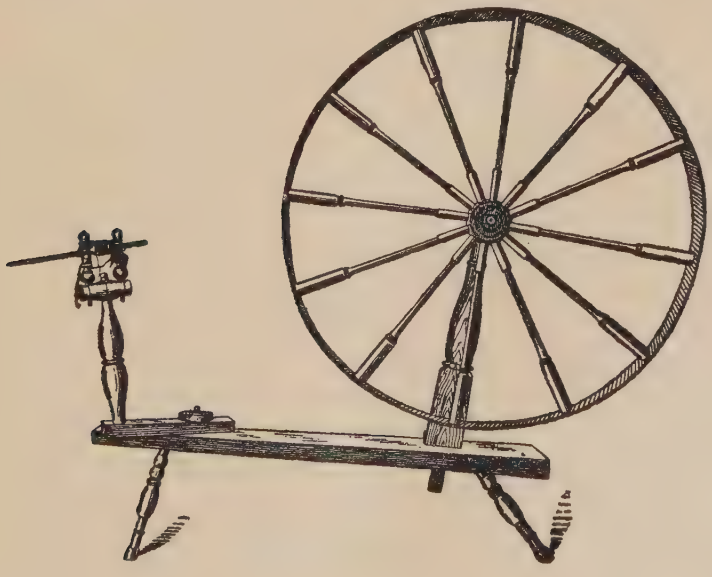
This was the route over which the settlers in Maryland sent their produce and manufactures to Philadelphia, at first by pack-horses and later by wagons. At first the wagons were home-made affairs, the wheels being sawed from the trunks of the gum, or buttonwood tree. Later came the well-known Conestoga wagon,[38] with its blue

[38] It is remarkable how much misinformation is frequently crowded into the so-called "Historical Novel"—misinformation which is made to masquerade as fact. For instance, in "The Quest of John Chapman," by Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, D.D., on page 80, appears the following remarkable explanation of the reason for building the Conestoga wagon in the shape in which it was made:

"Not until they came to the Susquehanna did Dorothy appreciate the meaning of these wagons, with the body built like a boat with prow in front and curved behind. Coming to the edge of the river, the driver drove the team into the stream until the wagon floated like a boat. Then the horses and running gears were driven back to the land, and the wheels and axles were placed in the body of the wagon which had now become a boat. One driver poled or paddled, the other led the swimming horses, until all were conveyed safely to the opposite shore."

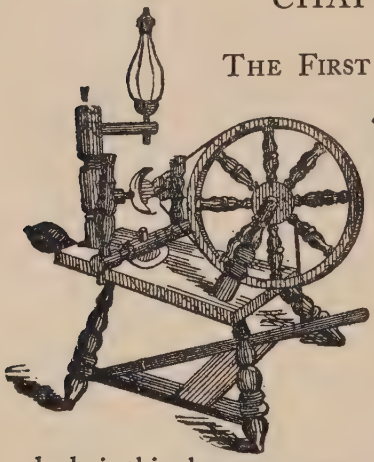
body and bright-red running gears, drawn by four, six, or even more horses. When the first wagons made their appearance the owners of the pack-horses bitterly opposed their use, just as, a few generations later, the wagoners opposed the building of the railroads.

During the Revolution, when it was desired to transfer the British prisoners from Reading and Lancaster to some point farther in the interior, they were conducted over the Monocacy Road to the barracks at Frederick, Maryland, and to Winchester, Virginia. It was by this same road that General Wayne, in 1781, led the Pennsylvania troops to Yorktown. The Monocacy Road was macadamized in 1808, and, until the railroads were built, it was the main thoroughfare between Maryland and the South and Philadelphia and the eastern section of the country.



CHAPTER VI.

The First Settlements.



IN studying the early history of Maryland one is at once impressed by the fact that there are but few records. Outside of the Council and Assembly proceedings there is very little on record to show the growth and development of the colony during the first half of the eighteenth century. More particularly is this the case as regards the settlement of the western part of the state, the section in which movement of the Germans from Pennsylvania was most prominent. Whether or not there were such records, it is impossible to say, but it is scarcely likely that this was the case. It is more probable that the Pennsylvania-German settlers, intent on preparing their lands for cultivation and building their homes, wasted no time on such matters; and so it happens that the history of the first settlements in that section are shrouded in uncertainty. While it is known that a few Pennsylvania-Germans came down into Maryland during the first

quarter of the eighteenth century, there were not many of them and they were so widely separated that there was no attempt made to found a town or village. It was not until after the year 1730 that any considerable number of them settled in Maryland.

The territory now known as Western Maryland, the part that was settled by the Pennsylvania Germans, was originally part of Charles county, which was formed in 1638. There was very little settlement of the western part of this county for nearly one hundred years, so that there was no change made in the county lines, and it was not until the Germans had come in numbers that a further division was deemed necessary. In 1748 the western part of the colony was erected into a county which was named Frederick. It was in this section that the Pennsylvania-Germans made their first settlements.

The first permanent settlement made by the Pennsylvania-Germans was the village of Monocacy.[39] This village which was the most important settlement in western Maryland until it was outstripped in growth by its younger neighbor, the town of Frederick, has disappeared from the map, and even its site was unknown until the investigations of Schultz definitely fixed its location. It was situated on the west side of the Monocacy river near where the Virginia road crossed that stream, and about ten miles north of where Frederick was afterwards laid out. This, as Schultz says, would locate it a little south of the present town of Creagerstown. It was at Monocacy that the first church was built by the Pennsylvania-Germans, a log structure in which Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Michael Schlatter afterwards held services, and it may

[39] "First Settlements of Germans in Maryland," by Edward T. Schultz, p. 6.

rightly be regarded as the mother-church of the Lutheran and German Reformed denominations in Maryland.

In his investigation to discover the exact site of the ancient village of Monocacy Schultz enlisted the services of Rev. George A. Whitmore, of Thurmont, Maryland, and Mr. Whitmore's report, as given by Schultz, seems to settle definitely the location. Says Mr. Whitmore:[40] "From the information which I have been able to gather from the oldest and most reliable citizens here, one of whom is now ninety years old, and a man remarkably preserved in mind, Mr. W. L. Grimes, Sr., also Mrs. Michael Zimmerman and Miss Melissa Myers, both of them bordering on eighty years, and others, it seems that the present Creagerstown is the site where the old log church stood. These good people, who are all connected with the oldest and most reliable families, remember quite well the old weather-boarded log meeting-house which preceded the present brick church, in 1834. Mr. Grimes helped to tear down the old building and purchased some of the logs and boarding, which he used in the construction of some houses in the village, and they are there to-day. From what I can learn from them, the church was originally built simply of logs, and that the weather-boarding was supplied many years afterwards. The new brick church was erected a few rods north of the old site on a new lot containing one and a half acres, which, together with the old location, is covered with graves. The first graveyard lay immediately in the rear of the old church, and contains also an acre and a-half, but not a tombstone can be found, only the indenture of graves covered with a mat of broom-sage, under which no doubt much history is hidden.

[40] Schultz, p. 21.

"Then, again, I have found traces in two instances, plain and unmistakable, of the old Monocacy Road, passing just below the village, in a southwestern direction and crossing Hunting creek where, according to tradition, there was an old tavern, and where there are now three or four old dwellings. Tradition also says the Monocacy Road crossed the river at Poe's Ford, which has not been used for over a century. The road on both sides of the creek lies in timber land of old sturdy oak."

At this late day it is impossible to determine the cause of the decadence of the town of Monocacy and its passing out of existence, but it is very probable that the laying out of another town a short distance away and on land that had a higher elevation, was one of the chief causes. Schultz says: "John Cramer, a German, or a descendant of a German, between 1760 and 1770 laid out a village on grounds belonging to him, which was named in his honor, Creagerstown. The site selected was a few rods north of the old log church and little less than a mile from the first settlement. The site selected for the new village was on more elevated ground, which fact doubtless caused it to expand to the detriment of the older village." That the existence of Monocacy as a town was well known is shown by the following letter addressed to Benjamin Tasker, esquire:

LONDON, July the 9th 1752.

Sir: By the ship "Patience," Captain Steel, a number of Palatines are embarked for Maryland to settle there, which being notified to me, and a Recommendation to you desired of me, in favour of Messieurs F. & R. Snowdens & D. Wolstenholme, to whose care they are consigned and recommended.

I therefore desire you will give such necessary Assistance to the People on their Arrival, to forward them to Manockesy (which I

understand is in Frederick County) or where else they shall want to go to settle within the Province, as in your Power, and that they may be accomodated in a proper manner; But the charges attending any such service to them must be done in the most moderate manner in respect to the Proprietor and to answer their requisites necessary to their service. The increase of People being always welcome, your prudence would have supplied this Letter in a kind Reception of them; nevertheless as particular occasions may require your Favour I conclude my recommendation of them, in giving them all possible satisfaction relating to the manner and Place they shall choose to settle in Maryland. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CÆCILIUS CALVERT.

Washington in one of his letters also speaks of Monocacy.

Another very early settlement was the village of Conococheague, near the present site of Clearspring. This was a well-known place and is mentioned by Washington and other letter writers of that period. Until after the French and Indian War this was the most westerly settlement in Maryland. One of the early settlers in that locality was Jonathan Hager, who afterwards laid out Elizabeth-Town, now known as Hagerstown. Jonathan Hager was unquestionably a Pennsylvania-German. All writers on the subject say that it is impossible to find out just when he came to America, and Scharf says:[41] "Capt. Hager came from Germany about 1730." Yet the Pennsylvania Archives[42] and Rupp's "Thirty Thousand Names"[43] both give the time of his arrival in Pennsylvania as 1736. According to these records among the passengers on the ship

[41] "History of Western Maryland," Vol. II., p. 1059.

[42] Second Series, Vol. XVII., p. 122.

[43] Second Edition, p. 101.

Harle, which arrived at Philadelphia September 1, 1736, was Jonathan Heger, whose age is given as 22. The first record of his being in Maryland was when he obtained a patent for two hundred acres of land near the present site of Hagerstown. This was on December 16, 1739, so that it is probable that he spent about three years in Pennsylvania. According to Scharf, "the earliest information of Jonathan Hager, Sr., is found in the statement that he received a patent of certain land on which a portion of the city of Philadelphia now stands," but, unfortunately, Scharf rarely gives authority for his quotations. After his settlement in Maryland, at various times until 1765, Hager obtained patents to different plats of land until his holdings amounted to almost twenty-five hundred acres. He laid out the town of Elizabeth-Town (Hagerstown) in 1762. This was apparently a very successful undertaking, for ten years later, under date of September 7, 1772, Eddis writes:[44] "About thirty miles west of Frederick-town, I passed through a settlement which is making quick advances to perfection. A German adventurer, whose name is Hagar, purchased a considerable tract of land in this neighborhood, and with much discernment and foresight determined to give encouragement to traders, and to erect proper habitations for the stowage of goods, for the supply of the adjacent country. His plan succeeded: he has lived to behold a multitude of inhabitants on lands, which he remembered unoccupied: and he has seen erected in places, appropriated by him for that purpose, more than a hundred comfortable edifices, to which the name of Hagar's Town is given, in honor of the intelligent founder."[45]

[44] "Letters from America," p. 133.

[45] Jonathan Hager was born in 1714. In 1740 he married Elizabeth Kershner. He died November 6, 1775, from the effects of an injury, a log

The town of Frederick was laid out in 1745. The territory had been settled ten years before by a party of colonists under the leadership of Thomas Schley, who was their schoolmaster. There is nothing on record to show whether Schley and his party came to Maryland by way of Pennsylvania or not, and it has been assumed that they landed at Annapolis. The fact that their names have not been found in the Pennsylvania records does not prove conclusively that they did not come to that colony first, as did most of the emigrants of that period, for those records are admittedly incomplete.

It is a fact that cannot be controverted that of the thousands of Germans who settled in Maryland prior to 1760 and entirely changed the character of that colony, with but very few exceptions they were Pennsylvania-Germans. In fact, although there were some notable exceptions, the number who came directly to Maryland from Germany can be regarded as a negligible quantity. It is unfortunate that there was no record kept of the arrival of emigrants at the ports of Annapolis and Alexandria, such as was kept at Philadelphia; or, if there was such a record kept, that it has disappeared, for owing to the absence of a record of this kind there is no way of telling just what number of Germans came directly to Maryland without first stopping in Pennsylvania. It is true that all writers who have touched upon this subject, and they are not a few, state that, according to the records of the port of Annapolis, from the year 1752 to 1755 German emigrants to the number of 1,060 arrived at that port, but the evidence presented is not sufficient, in my opinion, to prove

rolling on him and crushing him at a saw-mill where he was superintending the preparation of the lumber for the German Reformed church, in the building of which he took a great interest.

BREAD BASKETS, DOUGH TROUGH SCRAPERS AND COFFEE MILL.
TAR BUCKET, TEA KETTLE, CAULDRON, SKELLET AND
"SETAUM LÖFFELL."

conclusively that this is the case. The authority for this statement is a paper read by Francis B. Mayer before the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, on October 21, 1890.[46] Some years ago Mr. Mayer saved from destruction at a paper mill two parchment-bound volumes entitled "Records of Arrivals and Clearances at the Port of Annapolis," commencing in 1748. According to this record, among the arrivals at that port were the following:

September 18, 1752, Ship "Integrity," Jo. Coward, Master 150 tons, 6 guns and 14 men—the baggage of 150 Palatine passengers from Cowes.

September 19, 1753, Ship "Barclay," J. Brown, Master, 120 tons, 12 men—baggage of 160 Palatines.

November 8, 1753, Ship "Friendship," baggage of 300 Palatine Passengers.

January 16, 1755, Ship "Friendship," baggage of 450 Palatine Passengers.

It is upon this record that Mr. Mayer bases the statement that 1,060 Palatine emigrants arrived at the port of Annapolis. He says: "Of the arrival of Palatine Passengers, as the Germans were all known as Palatines, we have no mention except in connection with their baggage." It seems to me that this is rather significant, and it at once raises a doubt as to whether the assumption that these ships brought the passengers as well as their baggage is correct.

The story of the oppression and suffering undergone by the German emigrants who sought a home in America two hundred years ago is an oft-told tale; and standing out prominently in the story are the accounts of the villainous

[46] Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Vol. V., p. 17.

methods employed by the promoters, as they would be called to-day; the Neulanders, as they were known then; the men who by every means in their power tried to induce as many as possible to take ship for America. It is a well-known fact that these shipping-agents made a practice of so arranging matters that frequently a family of emigrants would find out too late that their baggage—all their household effects, their clothing, and often even all the money they possessed—was not put on board the vessel on which they had taken passage, but had been left behind on the dock. When this fact was discovered the Neulander would promise that the baggage would follow on the next ship; but in very many such cases the owners never saw their baggage again. It was a very common practice to send such baggage to a port other than the one to which the owner had gone, and when the latter was not on hand to claim it when it did arrive it was usually sold and the proceeds of the sale divided between the captain of the ship and the shipping-agent, the Neulander.

Bearing this fact in mind, when we read of certain ships bringing to Annapolis the baggage of over one thousand Palatine passengers, with no mention of the passengers themselves, the information that has come down to us concerning the methods of the Neulanders is at least sufficient to raise a doubt as to whether there were any German emigrants brought by those ships; whether those different lots of baggage were not some of that literally stolen from the unfortunate emigrants, who, without their belongings, and in many cases their money which had been carefully put away in their chests, were not able to pay for their passage and were sold as Redemptioners. This view of the matter seems but the more likely when we consider the fact that at least two of these ships, the *Friendship* and the

Barclay, and probably also the *Integrity,* were commonly engaged in carrying German emigrants to the port of Philadelphia. Considering all the circumstances of the matter, it seems to me that there is more than a reasonable doubt as to whether there were any emigrants landed at the port of Annapolis from the ships specified.

The town of Frederick grew rapidly and soon outstripped the older villages, and three years after it was laid out, when the county of Frederick was organized, it was made the county seat. In an address delivered at the Centennial celebration held at Frederick in 1876, Dr. Lewis H. Steiner said:

> Frederick was laid out by an English gentleman, but its lots and the rich farms immediately surrounding it were soon taken up by a host of honest, thrifty, laborious German emigrants, who fled from the oppressive restrictions of their own fatherland to seek a refuge here for themselves and their families, and whose names underwent many a distortion and mutilation at the hands of the English representatives of the Lord Proprietor, as they labored to write them down from sound upon the pages of our early records. The German was spoken one hundred years ago more freely and frequently upon the streets of Frederick than the English, two of their congregations had their service entirely in that language, the children were instructed in both languages in the schools, the style of houses and barns introduced was that of German rather than English origin, and, in various degrees of modification, had so held its place here that strangers who have had the opportunity of European travel invariably notice how much Frederick resembles a continental town. But these emigrants brought with them their mother-tongue and familiar forms of worship and architecture. They brought also German thrift, industry, and honesty, with ardent love of home—wherever it might be, whether native or adopted,—they brought laborious habits, virtuous lives, truthful tongues, unflinching courage, and an intense longing to do their duty to their families, the community, and the State.

Writing of Frederick in 1771, William Eddis says:[47] "The third place of importance in the province of Maryland, is situated about seventy miles west of Annapolis, and is the capital of a most extensive, fertile and populous county. Frederick Town is the name of this settlement. Within fifty years, the river Monocacy, about three miles to the eastward, was the extreme boundary of cultivated establishments; and Mr. Dulany, father of the present secretary of the province, was much censured for having procured considerable tracts of lands, in the vicinity of that river, which it was generally supposed could not even repay the trifling charge of the purchase, for many succeeding generations. The richness of the soil, and the salubriety of the air, operated, however, very powerfully to promote population; but what chiefly tended to the advancement of settlements in this remote district, was the arrival of many emigrants from the palatinate, and other Germanic states. . . . This place exceeds Annapolis in size, and in the number of inhabitants. It contains one large and convenient church, for the members of the established religion: and several chapels for the accommodation of the German and other dissenters. The buildings, though mostly of wood, have a neat and regular appearance. Provisions are cheap and plentiful, and excellent. In a word, here are to be found all conveniences, and many superfluities."

The town of Baltimore was laid out in 1730 but it did not at first, at least, attract the Germans from Pennsylvania. They were, as a rule, farmers by occupation, and they preferred to settle on the fertile lands in the western part of the colony rather than make their homes on the seaboard, particularly as the conditions of living in the

[47] "Letters from America," p. 98.

latter locality were very unfavorably influenced by the fact that tobacco culture overshadowed all other occupations and produced a financial stringency that could not be easily overcome. Among the first, if not the first, of the Pennsylvania-Germans to settle in Baltimore were Leonard and Samuel Barnitz, who came from York about the year 1748 and established the first brewery there. Other Lancaster and York county Germans who later followed them were the Diffenderffers, the Leverings, the Steigers, the Strickers, and others, but, at least until after the Revolution, the additions to the population of Baltimore from this source were not of very great importance compared with the number who were filling up the western part of the state.

Shortly after 1745 a number of Germans from Pennsylvania, chiefly Moravians, made a settlement at what is now the village of Graceham, in Frederick county, about twelve miles northwest of Frederick. Of these people Schultz says:[48] "Its earliest settlers were Germans or descendants of Germans, who drifted into Maryland from the Pennsylvania settlements. Among them were the Harbaughs, Boilers, Hens, Ebenhards, Kreigers, Reinekes, Lydricks, Seiss, Schmidts, Utleys, Williards, Zahns, Herzers, Rosens, Renzands, Schaafs and Richters." The district in which Sharpsburg is located was another section settled chiefly by the Pennsylvania-Germans, although there were also a number of English among them. Among the early German settlers were the families of Cruse, Nead, Sahm, Graff, Bartoon and others. There were a number of other small settlements made by the Pennsylvania-Germans but they did not become places of importance before the Revolution, and after that struggle the number

[48] "First Settlements of Germans in Maryland," p. 16.

of Germans who came to Maryland direct from the Fatherland increased rapidly, and there were numerous additions as well from among the Hessians who had come to fight and remained to be citizens, so that the Pennsylvania-German influence was not so predominant as in the pre-Revolutionary period.

The unceasing stream of Germans which flowed through the province of Pennsylvania to the outposts of civilization and formed a bulwark between the savage aborigines and the older settlements, peopled a wilderness from which they carved an empire. They found nothing there except the fertile land. Whatever of material prosperity they had they produced with their own hands and brain. They were not an ignorant people and although mostly farmers, yet following the German custom, every boy was taught some trade, so that in their new homes with no one to depend upon but themselves, after their homes were built and their fields plowed and sowed they turned their hands to whatever was necessary to be done. As Scharf says,[49] "It is a significant fact that nearly all the German immigrants who came into Maryland soon established themselves in permanent homes, and in almost every instance took rank at once as thrifty and enterprising citizens. The greater number were skilled in agriculture, but there was a large percentage of first-rate mechanics, shoemakers, paper-makers, butchers, watch-makers, bakers, smiths, iron-workers, etc. It is a generally recognized fact that the Protestant population of France and Germany supplied the best class of workmen in the various branches of manufacture. Thus we are told by the historian Lecky that 'twenty thousand Frenchmen attracted to Brandenburg by the liberal encouragement of the elector at the time

[49] "History of Western Maryland," Vol. I., p. 63.

of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, laid the foundation of the prosperity of Berlin and of most of the manufactures of Prussia.' The same is true in a greater or less degree of all the Protestant refugees, and it would be difficult to overestimate the industrial value to our own country of the successive immigration of whole communities from the different German states."

Nor did those in authority hesitate to give the Germans credit for what they were doing. As early as 1745, Daniel Dulany writing to Governor Samuel Ogle, says: "You would be surprised to see how much the country is improved beyond the mountains, especially by the Germans, who are the best people that can be to settle a wilderness; and the fertility of the soil makes them ample amends for their industry." In 1773 Governor Eden, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, says of the Germans who had settled in the western part of the state:[50] "They are generally an industrious laborious people. Many of them have acquired a considerable share of property. Their improvement of a Wilderness into well-stocked plantations, the example and beneficent Effects of their extraordinary industry have raised in no small degree a spirit of emulation among the other inhabitants. That they are a most useful people and merit the public regard is acknowledged by all who are acquainted with them." Even the narrow-minded Eddis whose British prejudice could find but little to praise in the colony, had a good word to say of the Germans. In one of his letters he says:[51] "These people who, from their earliest days, had been disciplined in habits of industry, sobriety, frugality, and patience, were peculiarly fitted

[50] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fourth Series, Vol. X., p. 694.

[51] "Letters from America," p. 99.

for the laborious occupations of felling timber, clearing land, and forming the first improvements; and the success which attended their efforts induced multitudes of their enterprising countrymen to abandon their native homes, to enjoy the plenteous harvest which appeared to await their labors in the wild, uncultivated wastes of America."

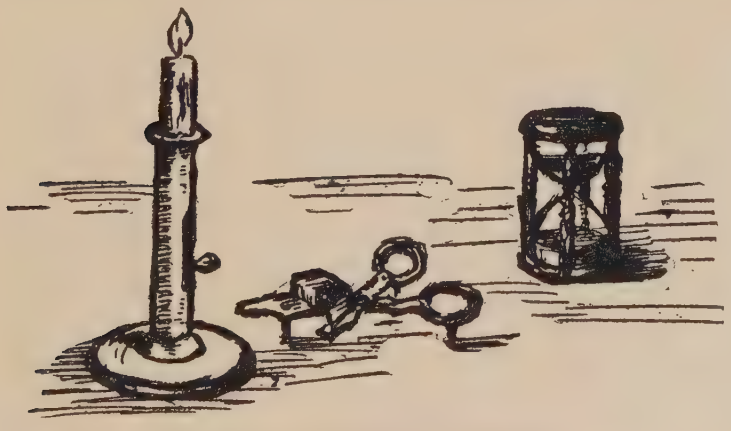
Washington in his numerous journeys through western Maryland had a good opportunity to note the manner in which the Germans had developed that section, and he was so favorably impressed with the evidences of their desirability as colonists that when he was planning to develop the lands presented to him by the British government at the close of the French and Indian War, he seriously considered the advisability of bringing over a number of Germans to settle on his property. With this idea in view he wrote the following letter to James Tilghman, of Philadelphia:[52]

Interested as well as political motives render it necessary for me to seat the lands, which I have patented on the Ohio, in the cheapest, most expeditious, and effectual manner. Many expedients have been proposed to accomplish this, but none, in my judgment, so likely to succeed as the importing of Palatines. But how to do this upon the best terms, is a question I wish to have answered. Few of this kind of people ever come to Virginia, whether because it is out of the common course of its trade, or because they object to it, I am unable to determine. I shall take it very kind in you, therefore, to resolve the following questions, which I am persuaded you can do with precision, by inquiring of such gentlemen, as have been engaged in this business. Whether there is any difficulty in procuring these people in Holland? If so, from whence does it proceed? Whether they are to be had at all times, or at particular seasons only, and when? Whether they are engaged

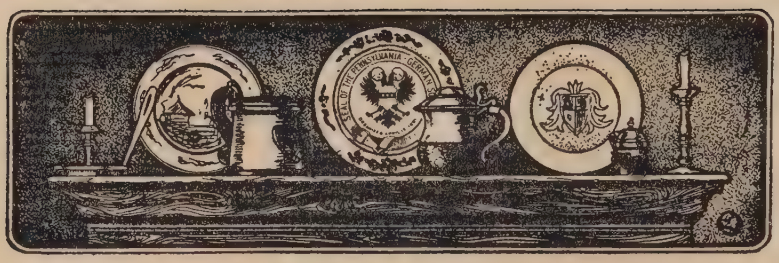
[52] Sparks' "Washington," Vol. II., p. 382.

previously to sending for them, and in what manner? Or do ships take their chance after getting there? Upon what terms are they generally engaged? And how much for each person do they commonly stand the importer landed at Philadelphia? Is it customary to send an intelligent German in the ship, that is to bring them? Do vessels ever go immediately to Holland for them, and, if they do, what cargoes do they carry? Or are they to go round, and where? In short, what plan would be recommended to me, by the knowing ones, as best for importing a full freight, say two or three hundred or more, to Alexandria? In case of full freight, how are the numbers generally proportioned to the tonnage of a vessel?

At the same time he wrote a letter to Henry Riddell, a ship-owner, in which he offered to pay the traveling expenses of the German emigrants to the Ohio river and to provide the settlers with victuals until a first crop had been gathered, and to exempt them from the payment of any rent for a period of four years, if there was no house on the property at the time of taking possession of it.



CANDLE-STICK, SNUFFERS AND HOUR-GLASS.



CHAPTER VII.

Home-Making in the Wilderness.

AT this day it is difficult to realize the task accomplished by the hardy pioneers who, nearly two centuries ago, left behind them all the advantages of a civilized community and went into the wilderness to build themselves homes; into a wilderness inhabited by wild animals of every description and, still more to be feared, the savage Indians. It required a courageous and indomitable spirit, for every settler literally took his life in his hands and as well the lives of his loved ones. We have heard many tales of the bravery and daring performances of these men, and, now and then, some woman is mentioned as having performed some act which made her memorable; but the silent woman, those unknown thousands of whom we do not hear, are worthy of as much commendation and their memory is as much to be revered as is that of the men. Their part in the building was as important and as strenuous as that of the men, although, perhaps, not so plainly

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PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN KITCHEN.

discernible. It was no easy matter for them to attend to the ordinary routine of housekeeping with only the rudest utensils to do it with. There was for them no spare time: when there was nothing else to be attended to the spinning-wheel and the loom must be kept busy. They were a hardy race, inured to hard work and the lack of comforts, yet the tombstones which have survived the ravages of time and the church records tell us that even they could not long bear up under the strenuous existence, but were frequently cut off in what we would now consider the prime of life. The advance of civilization and the improvements in the mode of living have materially lengthened the span of life, and on the foundations reared by those venturesome pioneers their descendants to-day live to a far greater age surrounded by comforts and advantages undreamed of in those days.

The first thing the settler had to attend to after deciding upon the place to locate was to provide a shelter. Sometimes natural caves afforded convenient temporary shelter, but, as a rule, it was necessary to erect some sort of a structure. The first dwellings were very simple affairs, the erection of more elaborate cabins and houses being deferred until some of the land had been put under cultivation. The simplest shelter was made by planting two forked poles at the proper distance apart and laying in the forks another pole to serve as a ridge-pole. Against this ridge-pole slabs cut from larger trees were placed, sloping to the ground. One end was closed by other slabs, while the other end was partly closed in the same way, the opening left being covered by a rudely-constructed door or sometimes merely covered by a blanket. Sometimes the hard beaten earth was used as the floor, while at other

times the floor would be constructed of the split slabs of wood.

The next dwelling was the cabin built with hewn logs, with a roof of clapboards or plank, and in some cases of shingles, and a plank floor. Until saw-mills were erected all the planks used in building had to be cut from logs with the whip-saw. Kercheval gives the following description of making planks with the whip-saw:[53]

> It was about the length of the common mill-saw, with a handle at each end transversely fixed to it. The timber intended to be sawed was first squared with the broadaxe, and then raised on a scaffold six or seven feet high. Two able-bodied men then took hold of the saw, one standing on the top of the log and the other under it, and commenced sawing. The labor was excessively fatiguing, and about one hundred feet of plank or scantling was considered a good day's work for the two hands. The introduction of saw-mills, however, soon superseded the use of the whipsaw, but they were not entirely laid aside until several years after the Revolution.

The building of the log cabin required more extensive preparations. Trees of proper size had to be selected and cut down and hewn into logs with the broadaxe and properly notched, clapboards had to be split for covering the roof and various other purposes, and when shingles were to be used they had to be rived. In the more thickly settled portions of the country a number of neighbors would frequently join with the owner in building his cabin, and in this way a very elaborate structure could be erected in a short time. Dr. Doddridge thus describes the erection of such a structure:[54]

[53] "A History of the Valley of Virginia," p. 134.

[54] "Notes on the Settlements and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania," p. 135 et seq.

The fatigue party consisted of choppers, whose business it was to fell the trees and cut them off at proper lengths. A man with a team for hauling them to the place, and arranging them, properly assorted, at the sides and ends of the building, a carpenter, if such he might be called, whose business it was to search the woods for a proper tree for making clapboards for the roof. The tree for this purpose must be straight grained and from three to four feet in diameter. The boards were split four feet long, with a large frow, and as wide as the timber would allow. They were used without planing or shaving. Another division was employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin; this was done by splitting trees, about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the faces of them with a broadaxe. They were half the length of the floor they were intended to make. The materials for the cabin were mostly prepared on the first day and sometimes the foundation laid in the evening. The second day was allotted for the raising.

In the morning of the next day the neighbors collected for the raising. The first thing to be done was the election of four corner men, whose business it was to notch and place the logs. The rest of the company furnished them with the timbers. In the meantime the boards and puncheons were collecting for the floor and roof, so that by the time the cabin was a few rounds high the sleepers and floor began to be laid. The door was made by sawing or cutting the logs in one side so as to make an opening about three feet wide. This opening was secured by upright pieces of timber about three inches thick through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs for the purpose of pinning them fast. A similar opening, but wider, was made at the end for the chimney. This was built of logs and made large to admit of a back and jambs of stone. At the square two end logs projected a foot or eighteen inches beyond the wall to receive the butting poles, as they were called, against which the ends of the first row of clapboards was supported. The roof was formed by making the end logs shorter until a single log formed the comb of the roof; on these logs the

clapboards were placed, the ranges of them lapping some distance over those next below them and kept in their places by logs placed at proper distances between them. The roof and sometimes the floor were finished on the same day as the raising.

In the mean time the masons were busy. With the heart pieces of the timber of which the clapboards were made they made billets for chunking up the cracks between the logs of the cabin and chimney. A large bed of mortar was made for daubing up those cracks. A few stones formed the back and jambs of the chimney.

As a rule the furniture used by the early settlers was of the rudest sort, generally home-made. Sometimes there might be a piece or two brought from their old home, and these, of course, were highly prized, and some of them have been handed down to the present day as heirlooms. But the bulky nature of furniture precluded much of it being carried on the journey to the wilderness. The lack of regular furniture was made up by all sorts of make-shifts. A table was usually made from a split slab, the top surface smoothed off and four legs set in auger holes. Three-legged stools were made in the same way, as were also benches on which to sit at the table while eating. Wooden pins driven into the logs and supporting clap-boards served as closets and shelves. Sometimes bed-steads were made in this way: A single fork was placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor and the upper end fastened to a joist. A pole was placed in the fork with one end through a crack between the logs of the wall and this was crossed by a shorter pole within the fork with its outer end through another crack. Sometimes other poles were pinned to the fork a little distance above these for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed, while the walls were the supports of its back and head.

As the settler prospered and his possessions increased, sooner or later, the simple log cabin was replaced by a more pretentious dwelling. This, too, was often built of logs, but in that event the materials were better prepared and the logs joined more evenly, and sometimes the outside was covered with clapboards, and in some instances with plaster, producing the "roughcast" house. In regions where limestone was plentiful the house was often built of stone in a very substantial manner; so much so that some of these houses built by the early settlers are standing to-day. These houses were very much more commodious than the first log cabin, generally being two stories in height, with sometimes a garret, the floors being divided into several rooms, and having a cellar underneath. In many instances the largest room in the house was the kitchen, on one side of which was a large open fire-place, or hearth. These fire-places were quite an institution, in which a great fire of oak or hickory cord-wood was made. During the winter the kitchen was usually the living-room, as in all probability it was the only room in the house in which there was a fire. The family would seat themselves about the fire, with, perhaps, no other light than that made by the burning logs. The only means of producing light was by the use of tallow candles or the fat-lamp, and many a boy who later made his mark in the world learned the letters of the alphabet and to read by the flickering light from the blazing logs in the huge kitchen fireplace.

The cooking utensils were of the simplest kind. There were no stoves and all cooking had to be done over the open wood fire. Iron pots and pans were supported over the coals by an iron tripod, or swung by chains attached to a beam or iron bar set in the chimney. Later the chain was superseded by iron pot-hooks which could be adjusted

to different lengths. Baking was accomplished in a Dutch oven, a squat iron pot with an iron cover, over which the hot coals could be heaped. This was succeeded by the large arched oven built of masonry. Sometimes this was detached from the house under a shed, but very often it joined the house, the iron door of the oven opening into the kitchen fireplace. Baking in these ovens was an interesting process, a process rarely seen in private families, at least, nowadays. The oven was large enough to take in cord-wood, with which it was filled and the fire started. When the wood was all consumed the ashes were scraped out, and the floor of the oven swabbed with a wet cloth on a pole, to remove any ashes remaining. The loaves of bread were placed on the floor of the oven with the peel, a broad, flat wooden paddle with a long handle. The baked loaves were removed from the oven in the same way. In preparing the bread for the oven each loaf as it was shaped was set to rise in a bread-basket, made of braided straw, similar to those shown in the illustration.[55]

Until the introduction of stoves the only way of heating a house was by open wood fires, and, as a rule, but few of the rooms were heated. One of the earliest contrivances used was the Franklin stove, named from its inventor, Benjamin Franklin, which was but a modification of the open fireplace. It consisted of iron plates set into the fireplace, a back-piece, with two sides and a top and bottom. The bottom piece, or hearth, extended into the room some distance from the chimney, and the top piece slightly so, the latter forming a shelf upon which articles could be placed to be kept warm. Sometimes instead of iron plates

[55] In the childhood of the writer bread-baskets exactly like those shown in the illustration were used by the juvenile members of the family on Christmas Eve, being set in the chimney-corner, in place of hanging a stocking, in anticipation of the visit of the Kris-kingle.

OLD TIME BAKE OVEN.

slabs of soapstone were used in constructing the Franklin stove. Later came the cast-iron stove, box-like in shape, with its modification, the ten-plate stove, with its oven for baking.

In the absence of refrigerators a spring-house in which to keep milk and butter was almost a necessity, and wherever it was possible such a structure was built. Sometimes the ingenuity of the settler was exercised in constructing a spring-house in the absence of a spring to flow through it. The writer is well acquainted with one good example of a spring-house of this sort, built some time during the eighteenth century. There was no spring on the property, but there was a deep well with an abundant supply of cold water. The spring-house was built near by the well. It was excavated to a depth of about two and a half feet below the surface, and thick stone walls were erected, surmounted by a heavy arch. Along one side a heavy wooden trough was built from which an iron pipe led to the well, where it was inserted into the pumpstock. Every time the pump was used the surplus water remaining in the stock, through siphonage and gravity, flowed into the trough in the spring-house, keeping the latter constantly filled with fresh cold water and answering all the purposes of a spring, in which to set the milk cans and butter pails. This building had a second story, the upper part serving as the smoke-house for curing the meat. At one corner on the outside, about five feet from the ground, an iron fire-box was constructed in the wall, with a flue leading up into the smoke-house. In smoking meat a fire of hickory sawdust and chips was built in the fire-box, the smoke being conducted up into the room where the meat was hung. Being on the outside at the ground level, the fire could be attended to with but little inconvenience. The

substantial character of this structure is shown by the fact that although during the Civil War the upper part of the building was destroyed by fire, the arch remained intact and is in as good condition to-day as when it was built a century and a quarter ago.

During the first year or two the matter of providing food for his family was a serious consideration for the settler in a new country, particularly if he were located at a considerable distance from the more thickly settled localities. A family starting off to make a home in the wilderness, even if the cost did not prevent, was not able to carry with them sufficient food to last them until their land could produce what they needed, and at times during their first year there was not much variety in their food. The streams provided them with fish, and the woods with flesh and fowl, but very often their vegetable supply depended upon whether wild tubers and edible roots could be found in their locality. But after the first year, when the land had been cleared and planted with corn and wheat, and vegetable gardens provided, there was usually an abundance of food. Indian corn was one of their staples, and to a less degree wheat, but with both of these the difficulty lay in the grinding, if there was no mill near by. Sometimes a hand-mill was used, and in the absence of this a course meal was made by pounding the grain in a large mortar improvised by burning a deep hole in a wooden block, another block of wood providing the pestle. Hominy was made in much the same way.

Beef was a rarity until a sufficient supply of domestic cattle had been raised, but its lack was supplied by venison and bear meat, of which plenty could be obtained in the forests. They were usually well supplied with pork, as the hogs were allowed to run loose in the woods, where

they found plenty upon which to feed. Every family raised a lot of hogs, and about the beginning of winter these were butchered and the meat cured. Butchering day was quite an institution. The hogs were killed and cleaned the day before, and early the next morning the butchers started to work cutting up the carcases. The work called for the assistance of all the members of the family as well as that of what neighbors could be procured, to help to cut up the fat to be rendered into lard. The hams and shoulders were trimmed ready for putting into the brine, to be cured for smoking, many yards of sausage was stuffed, as well as liver-pudding (*Leberwurst*). In preparing the latter the liver and kidneys, with the tenderloin and some of the head-meat, was put into a large iron kettle and boiled until it was thoroughly cooked. It was then transferred to the block and chopped fine and stuffed into skins, like the sausage, or packed in crocks and sealed with a layer of fat. The water in which the meat had been boiled was used to prepare what was commonly called Pon-hoss (*Pfannhase*), that is, Pan-rabbit. A great many fantastic explanations have been given of the derivation of this term, but it is simply one of the humorous names similar to Welsh-rabbit, for a mixture made from cheese, or Leicestershire plover, for a bag-pudding. Pon-hoss was made by using the water in which the pudding-meat had been boiled for making a corn-meal mush. This was put into pans to harden and was then cut into thin slices and fried. Sometimes a mixture of corn-meal and wheat flour, or buckwheat flour was used. A somewhat similar mixture is made nowadays in the larger cities, particularly Philadelphia, and is known as scrapple, but it is not the pon-hoss of the early Germans.[56]

[56] "A University of Pennsylvania professor, whose home is in Vienna, tells me that nowhere on the continent of Europe did he ever eat anything

On Shrove Tuesday every German housewife cooked a great dish of Fastnacht-cakes, or fastnachts (*Anglice* Fosnot) as they were usually called, a cake made of a modified bread-dough and fried in deep fat. These cakes were a very common dish throughout the winter, in some families almost entirely replacing the use of bread. There were a number of dishes peculiar to the Germans, such as "Sauer-Kraut und Speck," "Schnitz und Knöpf," etc., which to those not to the manner born may seem strange, but very often a stranger tasting them for the first time found that they were not to be despised.

Coffee and tea were not for everyday use, nor was there a plentiful supply of dishes and knives and forks for table use. Very often wooden platters, or, in some instances, pewter dishes and spoons, were used, and when individual plates were lacking the members of the family helped themselves from the general dish. Dr. Doddridge gives an interesting account of the first time he saw cups and saucers and tasted coffee:[57]

"I well recollect the first time I ever saw a tea cup and saucer, and tasted coffee. My mother died when I was about six or seven years of age. My father then sent me to Maryland with a brother of my grandfather, Mr. Alexander Wells, to school. At Colonel Brown's in the mountains, at Stony creek glades, I for the first time saw tame geese. . . . The cabin and its furniture were such as I had been accustomed to see in the backwoods, as my country

like scrapple. He is quite certain that it is of American origin. Nor can he, excellent scholar in five languages as he is, and whose mother tongue is German, explain just whence the name ponhaus. I venture to assert that if you said ponhaus to a Philadelphia waiter or possibly to any ordinary market man in this town he wouldn't know what you wanted. I am equally positive that in certain sections of Berks, Lancaster, York and Lehigh counties scrapple is a meaningless jumble of letters."—*Philadelphia Public Ledger*, January 16, 1913.

[57] Op. cit., p. 110.

was called. At Bedford everything was changed. The tavern at which my uncle put up was a stone house, and to make the change still more complete it was plastered in the inside, both as to walls and ceiling. On going into the dining room I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea that there was any house in the world which was not built of logs; but here I looked around the house and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hands of man, or had grown so of itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to inquire anything about it.

"When supper came on 'my confusion was worse confounded.' A little cup stood in a bigger one with some brownish looking stuff in it, which was neither milk, hominy nor broth; what to do with these little cups and the little spoon belonging to them, I could not tell; and I was afraid to ask anything concerning the use of them.

"It was in the time of the war, and the company were giving accounts of catching, whipping and hanging the Tories. The word *jail* frequently occurred: this word I had never heard before; but I soon discovered, and was much terrified at its meaning, and supposed that we were in much danger of the fate of the Tories; for, I thought as we had come from the backwoods, it was altogether likely that we must be Tories too. For fear of being discovered I durst not utter a single word. I therefore watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond anything I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink, as the rest of the company did, with the tears streaming from my eyes, but when it was to end I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I durst not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his little cup bottom upwards and put his spoon across it. I observed that after this his cup was not filled again; I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction, the result as to my cup was the same."

Speaking of the use of table china ware, Dr. Doddridge says: "The introduction of delft ware was considered by many of the backwoods people as a culpable innovation. It was too easily broken, and the plates of that ware dulled their scalping knives; tea ware was too small for men; they might do for women and children. Tea and coffee were only slops, which in the adage of the day 'did not stick by the ribs.' The idea was they were designed only for people of quality, who do not labor, or the sick. A genuine backwoodsman would have thought himself disgraced by showing a fondness for those slops."

The clothing worn by the family was all manufactured in the home from the raw material. The wool or flax was spun and the yarn woven into cloth. A mixture of the two, with flax for the chain and wool for the filling, and known as linsey-woolsey, was the warmest and most substantial cloth that was made, and was quite commonly used for clothing. Some of the women were expert spinners and weavers, and produced linen of the finest weave, and the heavy woolen bed-spreads spun and woven by those pioneer women are much sought after even to-day. One of these in the possession of the writer, spun and woven in the family of an ancestor, still retains its colors as bright as the day it was woven.

The settlers on the frontier were not slow to see the advantage of some parts of the Indian costume, and soon combined it with parts of the European style of dress. The use of the hunting-shirt was almost universal. It was generally made of linsey-woolsey, although some were made of dressed deer skins, but these were very uncomfortable in wet weather. The hunting-shirt was a sort of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and made so that when belted it

would lap over considerably. It usually had a cape, and sometimes was fringed with a piece of cloth of a different color, the edges of which were ravelled. The wide bosom of the shirt was utilized for holding articles of food, or anything else necessary to have convenient. From the belt, which was tied behind, were suspended the tomahawk, the scalping-knife and the bullet bag. The feet were usually covered with moccasins, made of dressed deer skin. These were made of a single piece of skin, with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another, without gathers, from the bottom of the heel to a little above the ankle-joint. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were adjusted to the ankles and lower part of the leg by thongs of deer skin. In cold weather the moccasins were stuffed with hair from the deer skins or dry leaves.

"In the latter years of the Indian war," says Dr. Doddridge, "our young men became more enamored of the Indian dress throughout, with the exception of the match-coat. The drawers were laid aside and the leggings made longer, so as to cover the upper part of the thigh. The Indian breech-clout was adopted. This was a piece of linen or cloth nearly a yard long and eight or nine inches broad. This passed under the belt before and behind, leaving the ends for flaps hanging before and behind over the belt. These flaps were sometimes ornamented with some coarse kind of embroidery work. To the same belts which secured the breech-clouts, strings which supported the long leggings were attached. When this belt, as was often the case, passed over the hunting-shirt, the upper part of the thighs and part of the hips were naked."

CHAPTER VIII.

Mechanical Arts and Industries.

ONE great advantage to be found in a settlement made up of Germans was the fact that every German boy, no matter what his station in life might be, was taught a trade; a custom which prevails in Germany to this day, but which, unfortunately, was to a great extent abandoned by the Germans in this country, about the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result of all the men being trained artisans the German settlers were able to obtain many articles which otherwise they would have had to go without, or else secure them from some of the older settlements at an expenditure of considerable time and money. While they were all skilled in agriculture, there was a large number who were good mechanics, and those who were not able to manufacture for themselves the articles they needed had no difficulty in finding some one to make them for them, and very often there was a trading in this sort of service. One man would make some article

for another, who would pay for it by doing in return something in which he was proficient.

At first, until the land was cleared, the fields prepared, and the homes built, there was not much done in the way of starting manufactories, but as the settlements increased and villages and towns sprang up, creating a greater demand for manufactured articles, a larger number of the settlers turned their attention in this direction, leaving the raising of crops to be done by others. There were few trades that were not represented, in a greater or less degree. There were expert cabinet-makers who, besides making the ordinary household furniture, frequently turned out beautiful specimens with lines modeled on the work of Heppelwhite and Chippendale, some of which have come down to this day.

As the only means of conveyance for passengers and freight at that time was by horses, the wagon-makers' trade was an important one. But few wagons were brought from abroad, for without counting the original cost of them, the freight for carrying them across the ocean would have made their cost prohibitive. The first wagons used were made entirely of wood, the wheels being sawed from the trunk of a buttonwood or gum tree. But it was not long before the iron mines were opened and forges set up and after that a better class of wagons were obtainable. There were expert wheelwrights and wagon-builders among them, who turned out large numbers of substantial wagons. The fact that Benjamin Franklin in two weeks was able to obtain from the Germans of Pennsylvania one hundred and fifty wagons for Braddock's expedition shows how well supplied they were in this particular.

Transportation methods of this kind required the use of large quantities of harness and saddles, so that saddlers

and harness-makers were numerous. The manufacture of leather was another very important industry. Leather was needed for making boots and shoes as well as for harness and saddles, and great quantities of it were used. As the leather was all made by the old-fashioned process of tanning, in which the skins were macerated in vats for many months, a great many vats were necessary in order to keep up the supply, so that some of the tanneries were very large establishments. Shortly after 1753 Matthias Nead established a tannery near Clear Spring, Maryland, which was conducted by himself, his son and his grandsons for about three quarters of a century.[58] Fastened with wafers to the wall of this tannery was the following rhyming notice, which has been preserved:

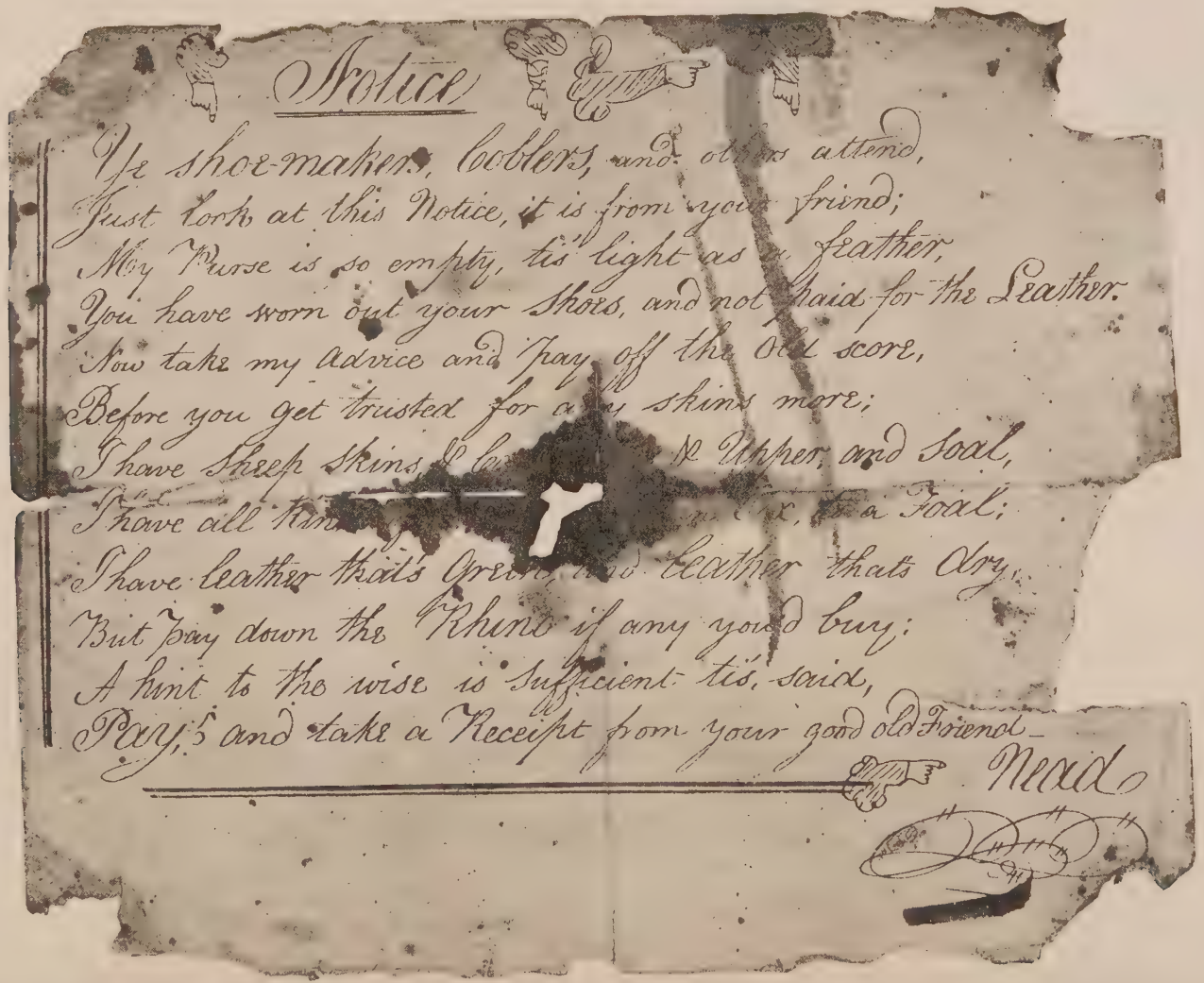
NOTICE.

Ye shoemakers, Cobblers, and others attend,
Just look at this Notice, it is from your friend;
My Purse is so empty, tis light as a feather,
You have worn out your Shoes, and not paid for the Leather.
Now take my Advice and pay off the old score,
Before you get trusted for any skins more;
I have Sheep Skins, & Calf Skins, & Upper, and Soal,
I have all kinds of Leather, from an Ox, to a Foal;
I have leather that's green, and leather that's dry,
But pay down the Rhino if any you'd buy:
A hint to the wise is sufficient tis said,
Pay! and take a Receipt from your good old Friend

NEAD

Nearly every family made the soap they used. Soap-making was an interesting process, a process still in use in

[58] It was quite common for a trade or business to descend from father to son for several generations.


Notice

Ye shoe-makers, cobblers, and others attend,
Just look at this Notice, it is from your friend;
My Purse is so empty, tis light as a feather,
You have worn out your Shoes, and not paid for the Leather.
Now take my advice and pay off the old score,
Before you get trusted for any skins more;
I have Sheep Skins & [illegible] & Upper, and Soal,
I have all kinds [illegible] Ox, for a Foal;
I have leather that's Green, and Leather that's Dry,
But pay down the Rhino if any you'd buy;
A hint to the wise is sufficient tis said,
Pay, & and take a Receipt from your good old Friend

Read

NOTICE IN AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND TANNERY.

many of the families descended from the early German settlers. The ashes from the hickory wood burned in the open fireplaces or in the cast-iron stoves were carefully saved, and in the early spring the lye for making soap was prepared from them. This was done by means of the ash-hopper, a V-shaped wooden structure raised from the ground, the point downward, with a hole bored at the bottom of one end opening on the trough-like board used for the bottom. The hopper was lined with straw and then filled with hickory ashes, after which a large amount of water was poured in on top of the ashes. The water, percolating through the ashes, extracted all the alkali and came out at the bottom a dark brown liquid, the lye, ready for soap-making. This was boiled in a large iron kettle with the various kinds of fat and grease that had been saved all winter, and the result was soap. Most housewives made both hard and soft soap.

Paper-making was another industry that the Germans early established. With them linen rags was the material used for making paper, but it was a descendant of one of the early German settlers in Maryland who gave to the world straw paper and straw-board, now so universally used. The Shryock family came to Pennsylvania from Germany and later went to Maryland shortly after 1730. They settled in what is now Washington county. A descendant of this family moved over the line to Chambersburg, Pa., in 1790, where he built a mill for the manufacture of banknote paper, with which he supplied the United States government. His son, George A. Shryock, succeeded him, and later discovered the process of making paper from straw, with its allied products straw-board and binders' board. Mr. Shryock has left an account of how he came to engage in the manufacture of straw paper. It

appears that Col. William Magaw, who was a relative of Mr. Shryock, was extensively engaged in the manufacture of potash at Meadville, Pa. The potash was made from ashes, the latter being leached just as in preparing lye for making soap. While overseeing the work Colonel Magaw was in the habit of chewing bits of the straw that had been taken from the ash-hoppers when they were emptied. He noticed that when this chewed straw was pressed in the hand the softened fibers matted together, forming a pulp very much like that from which ordinary wrapping paper was made, and it occurred to him that the material might be used for that purpose. He wrote to Mr. Shryock, who was at that time engaged in the manufacture of rag paper at the Hollywell paper mill, just outside of Chambersburg, suggesting to him the advisability of investigating the matter, and later, in the summer of 1829, visited Chambersburg for a test of the idea. "The experiment was, at that time and place, made and proved a decided success," says Mr. Shryock. "I was so well satisfied of its practicability that I bought a large cast iron kettle of John V. Kelly, in Chambersburg, cribbed it with wood staves so that I could boil from seven hundred to one thousand pounds of straw at one filling, and made, for some weeks, from twenty to thirty reams per day. The material used at that time in the preparation of the straw was potash, exclusively. I abandoned the manufacture of rag paper, and devoted my mill exclusively to the manufacture of straw paper for some months. In November, 1829, I visited the east to see a cylinder machine then in operation in Springfield, Massachusetts, by Messrs. Ames. On my way I accidentally met with Mr. Lafflin, of Lee, Massachusetts, at Hays' Pearl Street House, New York, and engaged him to build for me a small cylinder machine,

at Hollywell Paper Mill, near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. This was certainly the first machine that ever operated on that material. Within the first year I introduced the grooved wood roll for the manufacture of binders' and box boards, etc. These two manufactures were (as far as has been ascertained) the very first use of straw paper as a staple article in our world."

In the older settled parts of Maryland it was difficult to induce the settlers to plant anything but tobacco, but the German settlers did not require urging to induce them to turn their attention in other directions. Flax was one of their staple products, and large quantities of it were grown. They used it for the manufacture of their own clothing, they made thread from it for which they found a ready market, and the seed commanded a good price. To raise a good quality of flax required care and attention, but it was needed, for at that period the amount of wool they could raise was not sufficient for them to depend upon it alone for their clothing. The seed was disposed of in Philadelphia and Baltimore, many wagon loads of it finding its way thither.

When the flax was ready to be harvested the stalks were pulled from the ground by the roots and tied in small bunches from which shocks were formed, to allow the seed to dry. When the seed had been beaten out the stalks were ready for the process of retting, or rotting. For this purpose the flax-stalks were spread out in a field and allowed to remain for several weeks, the action of the rain and sun setting up a process of fermentation which loosed the fiber from the woody portion of the stalk.[59] The flax

[59] The best quality of flax was not produced by this process of retting, "dew-retting," as it is called. The plan more generally pursued is to pack the bunches of flax-stalks closely together in pools of water prepared for this

was then dried and was ready to be broken. The simplest sort of a flax-break was made of two pieces of board, hinged together at one end, so that they could be separated and the sharpened edges brought together. Bunches of the flax stalks were passed through the break, the upper part being brought down sharply upon the stalks at many places. In this way the woody portion was broken and loosened from the fiber. When the flax had been well broken it was ready for hackling. The flax hackle was usually made by driving a number of long, sharp-pointed nails through a piece of board so that they projected for several inches. The flax was hackled by the operator grasping a bunch of the straw and drawing it over the hackle. This separated the tow from the flax proper. The oftener the flax was hackled the finer was the quality of the finished product.

The tow was spun and woven into a coarse cloth which was used for making towels, bagging, and coverings of various kinds, while from the flax itself linen of various degrees of fineness was woven, and much of it was disposed of in barter as thread. The spinning of the flax occupied the winter evenings, and in a large family it was no unusual thing to see several spinning-wheels at work by the light from the kitchen fire, operated by a mother and her daughters. Every young woman was taught to spin. A Maryland German writing to his brother and describing his situation says: "I shall now inform you how I am Situated as it Respects the things of this world. I have a small Farm of 100 acres of land and on it a Tanyard, and By Farming and Tanning a little we are able to Support our selves. Our Soil is well adapted to Clover,

purpose, and allow the fermentation to take place in this way. In Ireland much of the flax is retted in bog-holes.

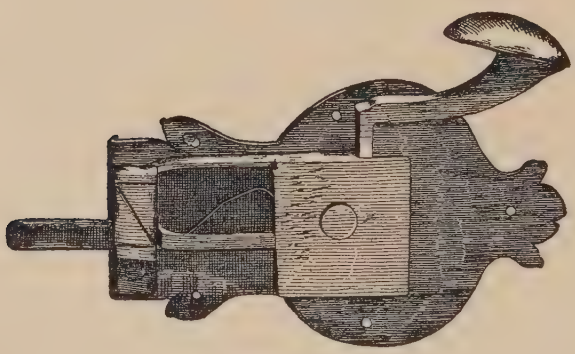
Wheat, Corn & oats, and Fruit of all sorts. We have 3 sons and 8 daughters—5 are able to turn the Spinning wheel and throw the Shuttle."

There were many metal workers, particularly in iron and copper. At an early date Dirck Pennybacker, a grandson of Heinrich Pannebacker, one of the early settlers at Germantown, Pa., built an iron-works near Sharpsburg, but about 1781 it was destroyed by a freshet and he removed to Virginia. The coppersmiths were skilled workmen who fashioned various utensils, particularly the large copper kettles, which were beaten by hand from one piece of metal, and which were frequently made large enough to hold a barrel of cider. There were many other articles manufactured by the German settlers, and their descendants were not behind those of other nationalities in the products of their inventive genius. According to Scharf it was a Frederick county German, Joseph Weller, of Mechanicstown, who, in 1831, discovered the process and manufactured the first friction matches made in this country.

The Germans in Maryland did not establish any newspapers at a very early date. According to Daniel Miller,[60] the first German newspaper in Maryland was established by Matthias Bartgis at Frederick, in 1785. In 1795 the publication of the *Deutsch Washington Correspondent* was started at Hagerstown by John Gruber. Gruber was born in Strasburg, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, about 1778. He learned the printing trade in Philadelphia, and in 1793 was in Reading, Pa., a member of the firm of Jungman & Gruber who published *Die Neue Unpartheiische Readinger Zeitung*. He did not remain in Read-

[60] "Early German American Newspapers," in Proc. and Add. of the Pennsylvania-German Soc., Vol. XIX., p. 96.

ing very long, as two years later he was located in Hagerstown. In 1796, in addition to his newspaper he began the publication of what has proved to be a monument to his memory which bids fair to last indefinitely: *The Hagers-Town Town and Country Almanack.* This almanac soon attained a very large circulation which it retains to this day, and in most of the homes in western Maryland and southern Pennsylvania it was regarded as a necessity. The farmers planted their crops according to the rules and signs given in it, and it was always consulted before any undertaking was begun. Until 1822 it was printed only in German, but in that year the English edition was begun. In 1836 Mr. Gruber obtained a series of crude wood-cuts appropriate to each month, and from that time to the present the "Almanack" has made its appearance each year exactly as its founder designed it over three quarters of a century ago.



DOOR-LATCH.

Der neue Nord-Americanische Stadt und Land Calender,

Auf das Jahr Christi

1797

Welches ein gemein Jahr ist von 365 Tagen.

Darinnen, nebst richtiger Festrechnung, die Sonn- und Monds-Finsternisse, des Monds Gestalt und Viertel, Monds-Aufgang, Monds-Zeichen, Aspecten der Planeten und Witterung, Sonnen Auf- und Untergang, des Siebengestirns Aufgang, Südplatz und Untergang, der Venus Auf- und Untergang, Courten, Fairs, eine Uhr-Tafel und andere zu einem Calender gehörige Sachen zu finden.

Nebst einer kurzen Beschreibung von Kentucky, u. s. w.

Nach dem Märylandischen Horizont und Nordhöhe berechnet; besonders für die Westlichen Gegenden in Pennsylvanien, Maryland und Virginien: Jedoch in denen angrenzenden Staaten ohne merklichen Unterschied zu gebrauchen.

Zum Erstenmal herausgegeben.

Hägerstaun, gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Gruber, nahe beym Courthause. Wie auch bey unterschiedlichen Etobrhaltern und andern zu finden.

TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST NUMBER OF GRUBER'S HAGERSTOWN ALMANAC.

CHAPTER IX.

The Religious Life.

WITH the exception of Virginia, the English colonies planted in America during the seventeenth century were founded for the purpose of escaping religious persecution. The ruling powers having determined that the established church should be paramount, allowed no middle ground, and laws of the greatest severity were put into force against the Roman Catholics, Puritans, Dissenters, etc. The colony of Maryland was founded by Roman Catholics and until the beginning of the eighteenth century the members of that denomination were in the majority, yet a spirit of religious toleration prevailed such as was scarcely to be found in any other colony.[61] This is the more remark-

[61] The excellent character which Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, is said to have always borne, would prompt us to impute this proceeding to the

able considering the attitude of the Roman Catholics in the mother country, particularly during the reign of Queen Mary, and it is a curious side-light on the mutations of human affairs that the only religious persecution that occurred in the colony was directed against the Roman Catholics, following the Puritan Revolution.

At some time previous to 1638 the governor of the province had issued a proclamation prohibiting "all unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tending to the disturbance of public peace and quiet of the colony, and the opening of faction in religion," but when this was issued is not known, for, as Bozman states, the proclamation does not appear in the records. In 1648, in commissioning William Stone as governor, Lord Baltimore included in the oath of office to be taken by the governor a provision that he would not molest or discountenance for his religion any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ and, in particular, no Roman Catholic, if he were neither unfaithful to the Lord Baltimore, nor conspired against the civil government; that he would not make a difference of persons in conferring office or favors, because of religion, but would regard the advancement of Baltimore's interests and the public unity and good of the province

most laudable motives—the liberal indulgence of all men in their religious opinions. But, whoever is acquainted with the history of Europe, during the seventeenth century, must know that no genuine Roman Catholic at that time could entertain these liberal sentiments, or at least openly avow them. All Protestants were deemed by them heretics, and liable to the strong arm of persecution for their impious and presumptuous doctrines. We must, therefore, unavoidably confess that this liberal and tolerant measure of Lord Baltimore wears very much the appearance of that policy of conduct, just herein before alluded to, which the English Catholics are accused of having pursued, that is in joining the two great fanatic sects —the Presbyterians and the Independents, in their united endeavours to effectuate the destruction of the Church of England.—Bozman's "History of Maryland," Vol. II., p. 336.

without partiality; and that if any person in the province should molest any Christian for his religion he would apply his power to protect the person so molested and punish the person troubling him.[62]

In 1649 the assembly enacted a law providing for religious toleration which was in force for nearly half a century. During this time there was no established church; each sect or denomination conducted its affairs as it saw fit, and all support of churches and ministers was voluntary. But in 1692 the assembly passed an act making the Protestant Episcopal church the established church of the province, and imposing an annual tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll on all taxables for the purpose of building churches and maintaining the clergy. This law was very unpopular and many of the Dissenters, Quakers and Roman Catholics paid their taxes in the poorest quality of tobacco, so that the few ministers who came to the colony under the provisions of the law received very light support. This law remained in force until the Revolution, but there was always more or less opposition to it so that there was great difficulty in obtaining competent ministers.

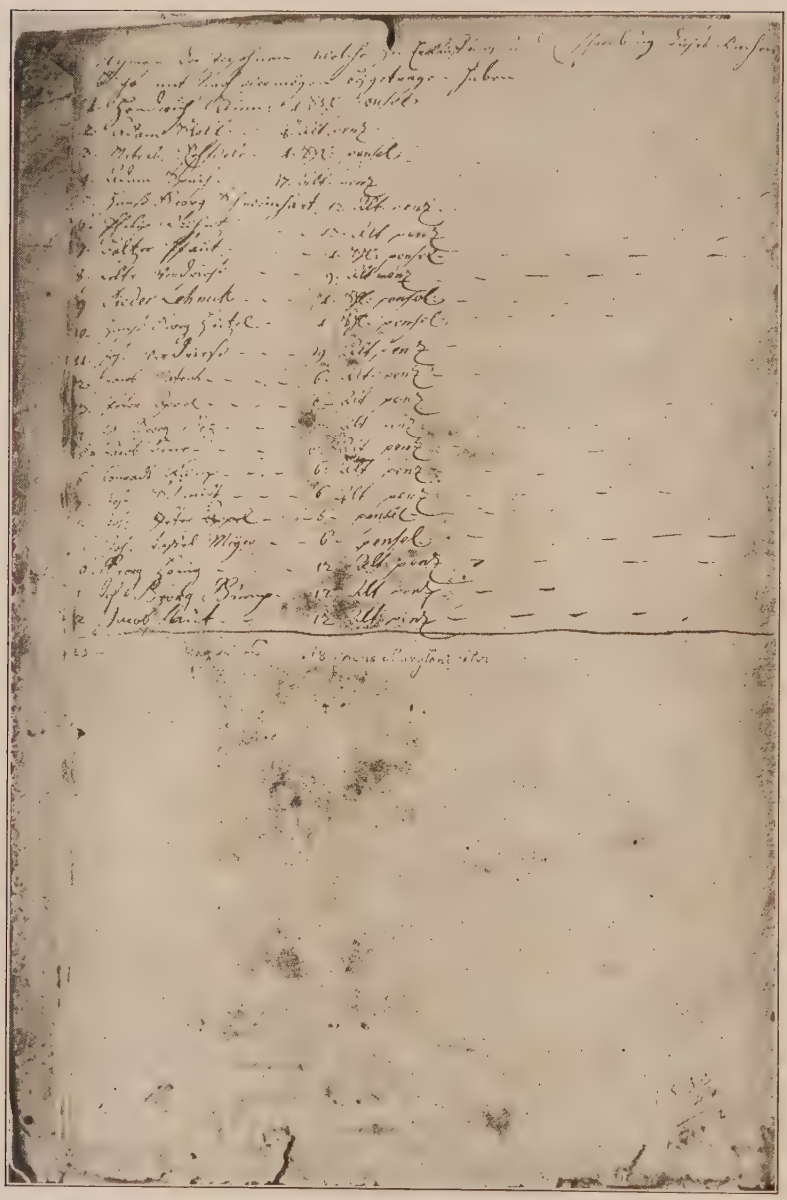
The German settlers were a pious God-fearing set of people, and their first thought, after settling in a locality, was to provide means for the public worship of God. After securing shelter for themselves the first public improvement was the erection of a building to be used as a church. A history of these churches would be a history of the people, but, unfortunately, in many instances the early records of the churches have been lost or destroyed, so that the history of these congregations has to be constructed from a few fragments, as well as it can be. The settlers were chiefly members of the Lutheran and German

[62] Steiner, "Maryland during the Civil Wars," Part II., p. 106.

Reformed churches, although there were a few Moravians and other sectarians among them. Their greatest trouble came from their inability to secure ministers. There were very few regularly ordained ministers in the country and those who were sent over from Germany, as a rule, remained at the older settlements, where their services were more in demand; and for many years the religious wants of the outlying settlements were looked after by travelling ministers, or missionaries, who were able to hold services, baptize the children, and perform the marriage ceremony at any given point only at long intervals. Then, too, the people were often imposed upon by dissolute intemperate men who posed as regularly ordained ministers, who, in this capacity, secured control of the congregations. Some of them were indeed such: men who had at one time occupied positions of honor in their churches, and had fallen from their high estate; but many of them were unprincipled adventurers who, in the dire needs of the different congregations, saw a means of securing a livelihood with the least possible expenditure of energy. A great deal of the trouble which subsequently arose in the various congregations was caused by men of this sort. It was not only among the German settlers that these pretended ministers were to be found, sowing their seeds of discord; they were equally common in the English settlements. In the absence of regular ministers religious services were usually conducted by the schoolmaster, who would read sermons. The church buildings erected were for many years used jointly by the Lutheran and German Reformed congregations, services usually being held by each congregation on alternate Sundays.

Dr. Schmauk says[63] that the first Lutheran church in

[63] "A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," in Proc. and Add. of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. XII., p. 381



SUBSCRIPTION LIST, MONOCACY LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Maryland was erected in what is now Cecil county by Swedes from the settlement on the Delaware in 1649, but what may unquestionably be regarded as the mother-church of the Lutheran denomination in Maryland was the little log church erected at the village of Monocacy about 1730. It is unfortunate that nothing is now preserved which shows anything about the organization of this congregation, and it is only in later years that we find anything authentic concerning it. From the records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever we get the names of a number of the early members of the Monocacy congregation, as on his numerous visits to that section of the country he baptized the children of those attached to the congregation. Thus, in 1734, four children of John Jacob Mattheis were baptized. In 1735 we find the names of Heinrich Sinn and Michael Reusner; in 1736, John and Balthasar Fauth, Matthias Roessell, Johannes Mittag, George Lathy, John Jacob Hoof, Adam Baker and Henry Prey; in 1737, John George Geiger and George Henckel; in 1738, Heinrich Fortunee, Joseph Mayhew, Valentine Mueller, Philip Ernst Grueber and George Spengel; in 1739, Wilhelm Dorn and Bernhardt Weinmer; in 1740, John George Beer, Herman Hartman and Michael Schauffle; in 1741, Jacob Verdriess and Jeremias Ellradt, and in 1742 Peter Apfel. Other names of persons connected with the Monocacy congregation at that period are: Traut, Baum, Habach, Berg, Hutzel, Schweinhardt, Schaefer, Schaub, Lein, Teufersbiss, Banckauf, Bruschel, Bronner, Lehnick, Kuntz, Gump, Lutz, Lay, Schreyer, Bischoff, Wetzel, Beyer, Rausch, Boltz, Ort, Kleeman, Geyer, Rudisiel, Mausser and Kauth.

The chief sources of information concerning the early history of the old church at Monocacy are the writings of

Rev. Michael Schlatter and Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, both of whom paid visits to the congregation. Mr. Schlatter was the first to visit Monocacy. He had been sent to America by the authorities of the German Reformed church in Holland as a missionary to the congregations scattered through Pennsylvania and Maryland. He arrived in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1746 and made numerous journeys to the outlying settlements, organizing congregations where there were none and assisting in whatever way he could those already organized. Early the next spring he started on a visit to the Maryland settlements. "On the 29th of April," he says,[64] "amid earnest prayers that the presence of God might go with me, I undertook a great journey to Monocacy and other places in Maryland, with a view also of visiting the congregations on the borders of the Susquehanna, having before given notice to each congregation of the time when I expected to be with them. On the first day, I got as far as Lancaster, and the following day I reached the Susquehanna, a distance of seventy-three miles. This is the largest stream in the English colonies, which, like all other streams, has received its name from the Indians and until now has retained it. In like manner, also, do the regions of country receive their names from the streams which flow through them. Hence if, in what follows, I shall mention any places not referred to before, it must be remembered that then I have passed over some larger or smaller stream, a matter which is frequently not accomplished without great danger. At least, when I crossed the Susquehanna it was greatly swollen, so that I crossed it with twelve men at the oars of the boat, and

[64] "The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter," by Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M., p. 152.

then only reached the opposite shores amid dangers which threatened my life, the river being, at that time, about two miles wide."

He reached York on May 2 and held services there and then went on to Conewago, in Adams county, where he also held services. He then goes on to say: "On the 6th, I journeyed forty miles farther to Monocacy, where, on the following day, I held preparatory service to the Holy Communion, and baptized twenty-six children, and, on the 8th, administered the most excellent Supper of the Lord, with peculiar interest and much edification, to eighty-six members. After divine service was ended, I read my instructions to the people. The congregation, anxious after spiritual food, listened with tears of joy and with gratitude to God, and forty-nine heads of families offered to raise, for the support of a minister, in money and grain, the amount of forty pounds, equal to 266 Dutch guilders. If this congregation were united with another called Connogocheague, lying thirty miles distant, these two would be able to sustain a minister. Farther, I must say of this congregation, that it appears to me to be one of the purest in the whole country, and one in which I have found the most traces of the true fear of God; one that is free from the sects, of which, in other places, the country is filled. For, on 7000 acres of land in that neighborhood there were none but such as are of the German Reformed faith."

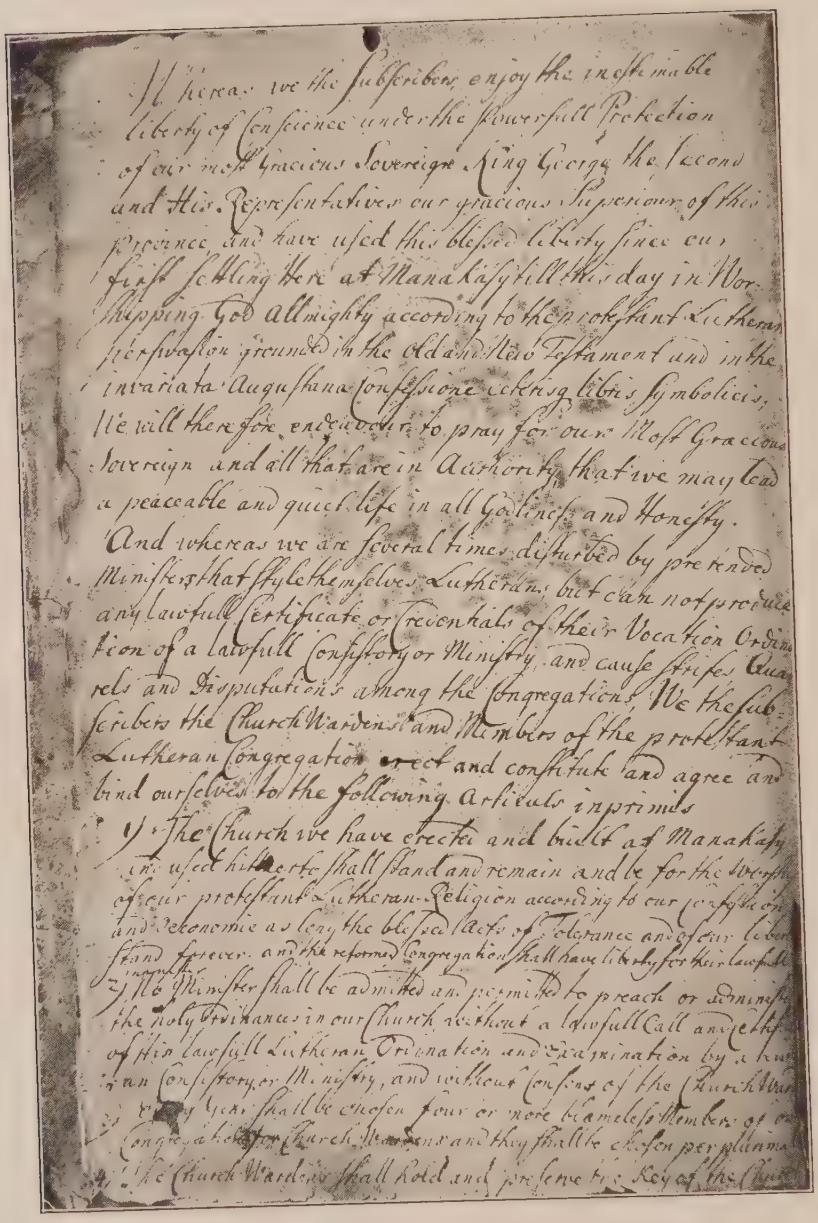
Just seven weeks after Mr. Schlatter's visit to Monocacy Mr. Muhlenberg arrived there. He had been met at Conewago (now Hanover) by two men from the Monocacy settlement and the three men starting out in a pouring rain, "were compelled to ride all night through the wilderness with the rain pouring down and the poor horses up to

their knees in water and mire." In this manner the journey of thirty-six miles was accomplished and Monocacy was reached in the morning. He found the Lutheran congregation divided into factions, through the efforts of Moravian missionaries and of men who, while posing as Lutheran ministers, were secretly trying to transfer control of the congregation to the Moravians. Mr. Muhlenberg called the congregation together and, as he says:

> Before we began the service I had them give me the church book, and I wrote in it, in the English language, several articles, among others that our German Lutherans confess the holy Word of God in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, and besides the Augsburg Confession the other symbolical books; and, where it can be done, they have the sacraments administered to them by regularly called and ordained ministers, and, according to their rules, do not allow open, gross, and persistent offenders against the Ten Commandments and the civil laws to be regarded as members, etc. This I read publicly to the congregation, and explained it in German, and added that he who would be and would remain such a Lutheran should subscribe his name.

This book in which Mr. Muhlenberg wrote the articles for the government of the Lutheran church at Monocacy is now in the possession of the Lutheran church at Frederick. The articles, with the names signed to them are as follows:

> Whereas we the Subscribers, enjoy the inestimable liberty of Conscience under the powerfull Protection of our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second and His Representatives our gracious Superiour of this Province, and have used this blessed liberty since our first settling Here at Manakasy till this day in Worshipping God Allmighty according to the protestant Lutheran persuasion, grounded in the old and New Testament and in the



Whereas we the Subscribers enjoy the inestimable
liberty of Conscience under the powerfull Protection
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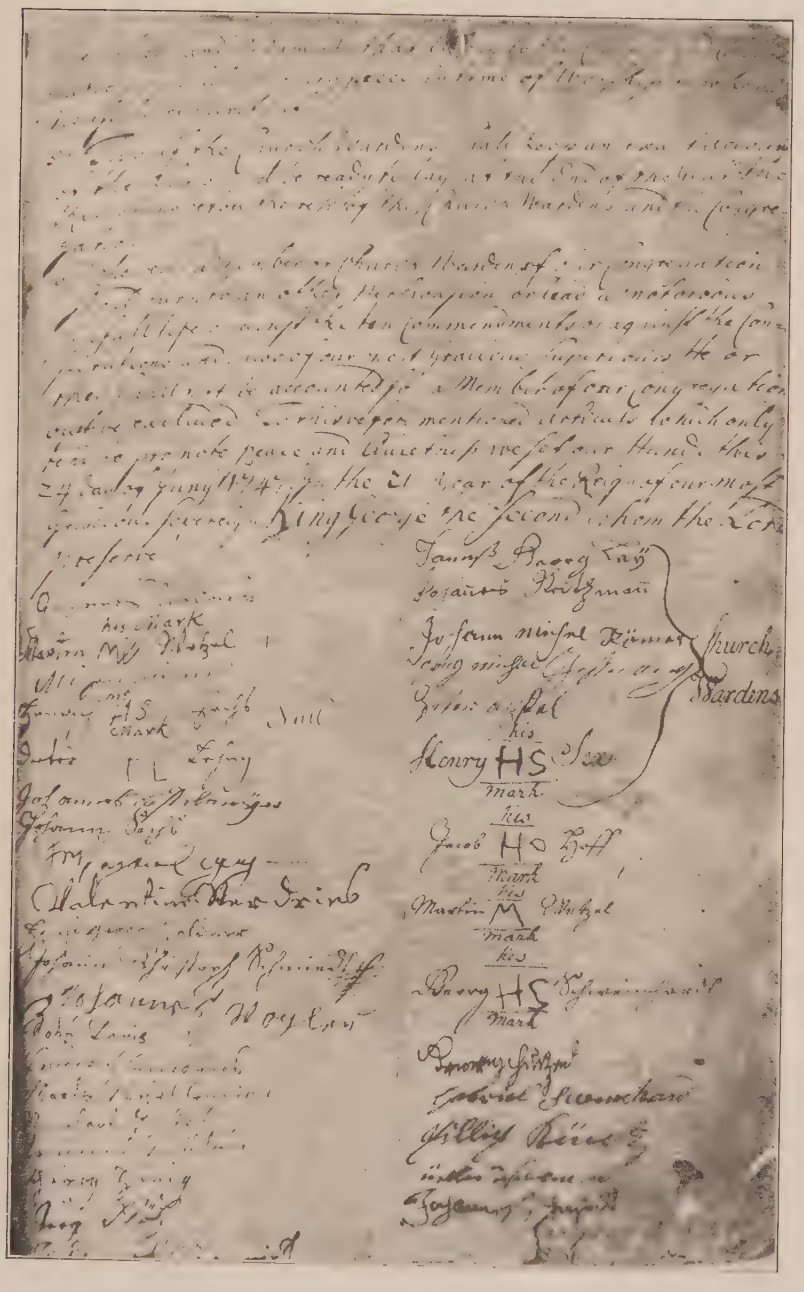
and His Representatives our gracious Superiours of this
Province and have used this blessed Liberty since our
first Settling here at Manakasy till this day in Wor-
shipping God allmighty according to the protestant Lutheran
perswasion grounded in the old and New Testament and in the
invariata Augustana confessione cohering libris symbolicis,
We will therefore endeavour to pray for our Most Gracious
Sovereign and all that are in Authority that we may lead
a peaceable and quiet life in all Godliness and Honesty.
And whereas we are several times disturbed by pretended
Ministers that stile themselves Lutherans but can not produce
any lawfull Certificate or Credentials of their Vocation Ordina-
tion of a lawfull Consistory or Ministry and cause strifes Quar-
rels and Disputations among the Congregations We the Sub-
scribers the Church Wardens and Members of the protestant
Lutheran Congregation erect and constitute and agree and
bind ourselves to the following Articles in primis
1st The Church we have erected and built at Manakasy
in used hitherto shall stand and remain and be for the Worship
of our protestant Lutheran Religion according to our confession
and Oeconomie as long the blessed Laws of Tolerance and of our Liber-
stand forever. and the reformed Congregation shall have liberty for their lawfull
2d No Minister shall be admitted or permitted to preach or administer
the holy Ordinances in our Church without a lawfull Call and Ordi-
of his lawfull Lutheran Ordination and Examination by a Lu-
ran Consistory or Ministry, and without Consent of the Church War-
3d Every Year shall be chosen four or more blameless Members of the
Congregation for Church Wardens and they shall be chosen per plurima
4th The Church Wardens shall hold and preserve the Key of the Church

PAGE 1.—RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MONOCACY LUTHERAN CHURCH.

WRITTEN BY REV. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.



PAGE 2.—RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MONOCACY LUTHERAN CHURCH.

WRITTEN BY REV. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

invariata Augustana Confessione ceterisq. libris Symbolicis; We will therefore endeavour to pray for our Most Gracious Sovereign and all that are in Authority, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all Godliness and Honesty.

And whereas we are Several times disturbed by pretended Ministers that Style themselves Lutherans, but can not produce any lawfull Certificate or Credentials of their Vocation Ordination of a lawfull Consistory or Ministry, and cause Strife, Quarrels and Disputations among the Congregations, We the Subscribers, the Church Wardens and members of the protestant Lutheran Congregation, erect and constitute and agree and bind ourselves to the following Articals imprimis

1. The Church we have erected and built at Manakasy and used hitherto shall stand and remain and be for the worship of our protestant Lutheran Religion according to our Confession, and oeconomie as long the blessed acts of Tolerance and of our liberty stand forever. And the Reformed Congregation shall have liberty for their lawfull minister.

2. No Minister shall be admitted and permitted to preach or administer the holy ordinances in our Church without a lawfull Call and Certificate of His lawfull Lutheran ordination and Examination by a Lutheran Consistory or Ministry, and without Consent of the Church Wardens.

3. Every Year shall be chosen four or more blameless Members of our Congregation for Church Wardens, and they shall be chosen *per plurima vota.*

4. The Church Wardens shall hold and preserve the Key of the Church, the Vessels and Ornaments that belong to the Church and Congregation and deliver every piece in time of Worship or when Necessity requireth it.

5. Two of the Church Wardens shall keep an exact account of the alms and be ready to lay at the end of the Year the Reckoning before the rest of the Church Wardens and the Congregation.

6. Whenever a Member or Church Warden of our Congregation should turn to an other persuasion, or lead a notorious sinfull

life against the ten Commendments or against the Constitutions and laws of our most Gracious Superiours, He or they shall not be accounted for a Member of our Congregation but be excluded. To this before mentioned Articals, which only tend to promote peace and Quietness we set our Hands this 24 day of June 1747, in the 21 year of the Reign of our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second, whom the Lord preserve.

Johannes Verdries
Martin Wetzel
Michell Reisner
Heinrich Sechs
Dieder Lehny
Johannes Stolmeyer
Johan Sechs
Hans Sigfried Guy
Valentine Verdries
Hans Georg Soldner
Johan Christoph Schmidt
Johannes Vogler
John Davis
Friedreich Verdries
Martin Wetzel Junior
Nicolaus Wetzel
Friedreich Willhaut
Georg Honig
Jerg Kölz
Johannes Schmidt

Hans Georg Lay
Johannes Kritzman
Johan Michal Römer
Georg Michal Hoffman
Peter Apfel
Henry Sechs
} Church Wardens

Jacob Hoff
Martin Wetzel
Georg Schweinhardt
Georg Hützel
Gabriel Schweinhard
Fillip Küntz
Ludwig Weltner
Johannes Schmidt

Accompanying these articles is a subscription list[65] to which is signed the following additional names:

Fredreich Sinn,
Adam Stoll,
Mateus Kesszele,
Adam Spach,
Baltzer Pfaut,
Jacob Mateus,
Jacob Bene,
Conradt Künz,
Joh. Sattel Meyer,
Joh. Georg Götz,
Joh. Georg Gump,
Jacob Faut.

[65] Nahmen der Persohnen welche zu Erkauftung und Einschreibung dieses Kirchen buchs mit Noch wermögen beigetragen haben.

But in spite of the efforts of Mr. Muhlenberg there continued to be more or less discord among the members, and the congregation did not prosper, and about the time that Rev. Bernard Michael Hauseal became pastor of the Lutheran church at Frederick, in 1753, the Monocacy congregation was absorbed by the former. This absorption was the final act which led to the decadence and disappearance from the map of the village of Monocacy. The Lutheran congregation at Frederick, which was virtually the successor of the one at Monocacy, was organized about 1735, the exact date not being on record. Among the early members of the congregation were the families of Unsult, Bechtel, Schley, Culler, Angelberger and Metzger. For many years there was no regular pastor, services being conducted at intervals by the ministers stationed at the Lutheran church at Hanover, Pa. In 1753 Rev. Bernard Michael Hauseal became the pastor of the congregation and remained until 1758. From 1763 to 1768 Rev. John William Samuel Schwerdtfeger was pastor, and he was followed by Rev. John Christopher Hartwick. Other ministers connected with the church were Rev. John Andrew Krug, 1771; Rev. John Frederick Wildbahn, 1796; Rev. Frederick Moeller, 1799. The first church was a wooden one, built in 1741–6, which was replaced by a stone one, 1754–60. Among the members of the congregation in 1777 were John George Lay, John Michael Roemer, George Michael Hoffman, Peter Apple and Henry Six, all of whom had been members of the original congregation at Monocacy. The services were conducted in German until 1810.

The German Reformed congregation at Frederick was organized before 1740. When Rev. Michael Schlatter visited the place in 1748 he found a congregation of con-

siderable size, although there was no regular pastor. He preached in a new and unfinished church and administered communion to ninety-seven persons. Rev. Theodore Frankenfeld became the regular minister in 1753. He was succeeded, in 1756, by Rev. John Conrad Steiner. Other pastors of the congregation were: 1760, Rev. Philip William Otterbein; 1766, Rev. Charles Lange; 1768, Rev. Frederick L. Henop; 1784, Rev. John Runkel, who retired in 1801.

One of the historic churches in western Maryland was the old Lutheran church near Sharpsburg. This section was settled about the middle of the eighteenth century. The church was built on ground donated by Col. Joseph Chapline, who laid out the town of Sharpsburg. The deed for this property is recorded in Liber L, Folio 179, of the records of Frederick county, and is as follows:

At the request of Dr. Christopher Cruss the following Deed was recorded the 16th day of March 1768.

THIS INDENTURE made this 5th day of March, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Eight, between Col. Joseph Chapline of Frederick County and Province of Maryland of the one part, and Dr. Christopher Cruss, Matthias Need, Nicholas Sam and William Hawker, Vestrymen and Church Wardens of the Lutheran Church in the Town of Sharpsburg, in the County aforesaid, of the other part.

Witnesseth that the said Col. Joseph Chapline, for and in consideration of the religious regard which he hath and beareth to the said Lutheran Church as also for the better support and maintenance of the said Church, hath given, granted, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents doth give, grant, bargain, alien, enfeoff and confirm unto the said Dr. Christopher Cruss, Mathias Need, Nicholas Sam and William Hawker, Vestrymen and Church Wardens and their successors, members of the above

Church, for the use of the Congregation that do resort thereto, One Lot or portion of ground, No. 149, containing One hundred and fifty-four feet in breadth and Two hundred and six feet, more or less, in length, with all profits advantages and appurtenances to the said Lot or portion of ground belonging or appertaining. To have and to hold to them the said Dr. Christopher Cruss, Mathias Need, Nicholas Sam and William Hawker, Vestrymen and Church Wardens, and to their successors forever, to them and their own use, and to no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever forever yielding and paying unto the said Col. Joseph Chapline, his heirs and assigns, *One Pepper Corn,* if demanded, on the ninth day of July One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Eight, and yearly hereafter, and the said Col. Joseph Chapline for himself and his heirs doth covenant and agree to and with them the said Dr. Christopher Cruss, Matthias Need, Nicholas Sam and William Hawker, Vestrymen and Church Wardens and their successors, that them and they shall and may have, hold, and peaceably enjoy and possess the said Lot or portion of ground and other the premises, yielding and paying the rent aforesaid hereinbefore reserved and any rent that may grow due to the Lord Proprietary freely and absolutely, but with this reserve, that if the above named Dr. Christopher Cruss, Matthias Need, Nicholas Sam and William Hawker, Vestrymen and Church Wardens, do not build or cause to be built on said Lot in the term of seven years then the above lot to revert to Col. Joseph Chapline his heirs and assigns.

A log church was erected, thirty-three by thirty-eight feet in size. A bell, which was said to be a very old one, was swung from a pole on the outside. Later a cupola was built on the church and the bell was placed in it. The interior of the church was arranged, as nearly all of the old churches were, with a very high pulpit, reached by nearly a dozen steps. Over the pulpit was an umbrella-shaped sounding-board. There was an elevated platform for the elders and deacons, while the congregation sat in

pews with very high backs. In 1849 the outside of the building was rough-casted. During the battle of Antietam, in September, 1862, the church was used as a hospital, but as it was in the line of fire from the cannon it was so much damaged as to be unfit for further use, and shortly after the war it was torn down. The early records of the church are all lost: probably destroyed during the war, so that nothing is known of its early history. Among the families connected with this church at an early date were those of Roullett, Hovermale, Funk, Nead, Rohrback, Gardenour, Sheeler and Harman.

The Germans did not settle in Baltimore in any considerable number at a very early date, the greater number of that nationality going to the rich farming lands in the western part of the colony, yet it is evident that shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century there was quite a number of them there, sufficient to organize two congregations: one Lutheran and the other German Reformed. The exact date when these congregations were organized is not known, but it could not have been very long after 1750. In the early records of the first Lutheran congregation in the city is found the statement that "up to the year 1758 both Lutherans and German Reformed worshipped together, and great friendship and harmony prevailed. In that year they resolved to erect a house of worship in common, as each party was too weak to build one alone; and it was at the same time determined that a pastor should be called by either church, as might best suit."[66] At first there was no regular minister attached to the congregation, services being held at intervals as the presence of a minister would permit. According to Scharf, Rev. J. S. Gerock was the regular minister in

[66] Scharf's "Chronicles of Baltimore," p. 40.

LUTHERAN CHURCH AT SHARPSBURG, ON ANTIETAM CREEK, WASHINGTON CO., MARYLAND.

BUILT IN 1768.

1758, but this is evidently a mistake, as at that time Mr. Gerock was pastor of the Lutheran church at Lancaster, Pa., where he continued until 1767, when he removed to New York city.[67] It is probable that he occasionally visited the church in Baltimore. In 1773 among those connected with this church were the families of Lindenberger, Wershler, Hartwig, Hoecke, Rock, Grasmuck, Levely, Barnitz and Dr. Wiesenthall. In 1758 a lottery was conducted to raise funds, with which the new church was erected.

The first German Reformed congregation in Baltimore was organized about the same time as the first Lutheran one. According to a record in one of the books of this congregation, dated January 25, 1769, "the first minister of this congregation was John Christian Faber, born in Mosback on the Neckar, in the Pfaltz, in Europe. His father was a preacher at Gimmeldingen on the river Haardt. May the blessing of God attend this enterprise, and may the church increase and flourish." Mr. Faber was pastor of this congregation for about fourteen years, but his pastorate was far from being a harmonious one. Concerning Mr. Faber, Dr. Ruetenik says:[68] "He proved cold and tedious in the pulpit, and his conversation under the pulpit was devoid of salt—entertaining rather than elevating." For this reason some of the members of the congregation wanted a younger and more warm-hearted minister, and advocated the claims of Rev. Benedict Schwob, or Swope. This resulted in a division in the congregation and a second one was formed in 1770 under the leadership of Mr. Swope. Dissensions continued between

[67] Schmauk. "The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," in Proc. and Add. of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. XI., p. 329.

[68] "The Pioneers of the Reformed Church in the United States," p. 97.

the two congregations, and in 1774 Mr. Swope retired and was succeeded by Rev. Philip William Otterbein, who remained in charge of the congregation until his death in 1813.

In the first church Mr. Faber was succeeded by Rev. George Frederick Wallauer, and he by Rev. Charles Louis Boehme. One of the old books of the church records that "after some time Mr. Boehme got into trouble and at a meeting of the Rev. Synod held at Reading, Pa., in 1782, he was dismissed from the ministry. At the same time liberty was given to call another minister, and they called Rev. Nicholas Pomp, who delivered his first sermon on the first Sunday in September, 1783. At this period Jacob Coberts, Frederick Meyer, Jacob Meyer and Henry Zorah were the elders of the church; and Philip Crusius, Andrew Granget, and Philip Miller, the deacons."[69]

One of the early congregations established by the Lutherans was the one at Middletown, where a church was erected about 1755. Among the pastors of this congregation were Rev. Frederick Gerresheim, in 1779; Rev. John Andrew Krug, Rev. Jacob Goering, Rev. John George Schmucker, and Rev. Johan George Graeber, who was pastor in 1796.

The Rocky Hill church, near Woodsborough, was built in 1768. It was a two-story log building and was occupied by the Lutherans, German Reformed and Presbyterians. Until 1830 preaching was in the German language. "Apple's Church" was built near Mechanicstown about 1765 by the Lutherans and German Reformed. Among the first Reformed ministers of this church were Rev. Jonathan Rahauser and Rev. Mr. Bassler. At a

[69] Scharf, "Chronicles of Baltimore," p. 42.

much later period the congregation was served by Revs. S. R. Fisher and E. E. Higbee. One of the Lutheran ministers who was pastor of this congregation was Rev. Reuben Weiser.

St. John's Lutheran church in Hagerstown was organized in 1770. Its constitution was signed by sixty members. Its first pastor was Rev. J. F. Wildbahn. From 1773 to 1793 Rev. John George Young was the pastor, and he was succeeded by Rev. Dr. J. G. Schmucker. In 1791 a lottery was held to raise money for the church. The trustees and managers for the lottery were Peter Hoeflich, Henry Shryock, Peter Woltz, Baltzer Woltz, David Harry, Jacob Harry, William Lee, John Lee, Rezin Davis, Alexander Clagett, Nathaniel Rochester, Henry Schnebly, William Reynolds, Melchior Beltzhoover, John Geiger, John Protzman, Adam Ott, Michael Kapp, George Woltz, John Ragan, Abraham Leider, Robert Hughes, Henry Schroder, Henry Eckert, William Van Lear, Jacob Miller, Frederick Stempel, Peter Whitesides, Andrew Kleinsmith, Philip Entlen and John Ney.

Rev. Jacob Weyman became the pastor of the German Reformed church in Hagerstown in 1770 and remained in charge until 1790. Among the members of the first congregation were William Baker, William Heyser, Philip Osten, Peter Wagner, Jacob Hauser, Jonathan Hager, Ernst Baker, Yost Weygand, Esau Gnadig, Johannes Karr, Frantz Greilich, Herman Greilich, Andreas Link, Eustagines Jung, Wilhelm Conrath, Heinrich Doutweiler, Jacob Fischer, Johannes Steincyfer, Frantz Wagner, Ernst Dietz, Rudolph Bly, Johannes Oster, Michael Eberhart, Matthias Saylor, George Herdic, George Campert, Johannes Nicholas Schister, Johannes Frey, Peter Diller, George Frey, Conrad Eichelberger, Philip Klein,

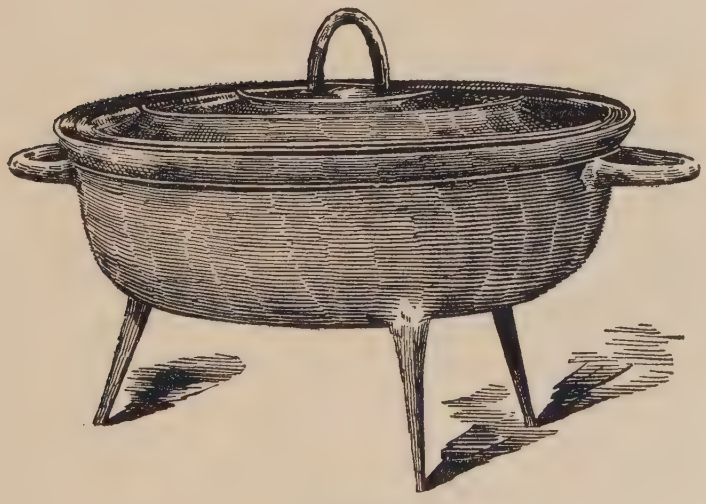
and Ernst Kremer. In 1774 the congregation erected a substantial church building, and it was during the erection of this structure that Jonathan Hager, the founder of Hagerstown, was killed by a heavy timber falling on him.

One of the first Lutheran Churches in what is now Washington county, Maryland, was the Antietam church, situated on Antietam creek, about four miles from Hagerstown. Rev. John G. Young, writing in 1786, says that this church was built in 1756, but the will of Robert Downing, who owned the land on which it was built, speaks of the church as being in existence at the time the will was made, in 1754. Mr. Young says: "About thirteen families of our church united, purchased ten acres of land, and built a sort of church, as their circumstances allowed." Rev. Bernard Michael Hauseal, of the Frederick congregation, was the first minister to hold services at this church. For a short time Rev. J. W. S. Schwerdtfeger conducted services there, and when Rev. J. G. Young became pastor of the Hagerstown church, in 1773, he held services at the Antietam church every four weeks. This he continued to do until 1785. At that time the congregation consisted of from fifty-five to sixty families.

There were a number of Brethren located in that section at an early date. Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh says: "The Antietam church was organized in 1752. William Stover was the first elder. His parents were not members. He was born about 1725 and died in 1795. He was assisted in the ministry for some time by George Adam Martin and was succeeded by his son Daniel Stover, who died October, 1822. This church extended over a large territory and was a midway point for emigration from eastern Pennsylvania to Virginia and the west. This church was located in the famous Conococheague country. It was the

scene of many Indian depredations during the French and Indian Wars and during the Revolution. The early members suffered greatly, and some were ruthlessly murdered. There was no meeting-house for the congregation until 1798, when Price's Church was erected."[70]

[70] "History of the Brethren," p. 512.



DUTCH OVEN.

CHAPTER X.

Education, Redemptioners, Servitude.

WHEN the German emigrants began to arrive in this country, and more particularly in Pennsylvania, in large numbers and it became apparent that unless the influx was checked the German settlers would soon outnumber the English, the latter in no uncertain terms voiced their objection to allowing the Germans to come in unlimited numbers, and found all sorts of reasons for this objection. One of the chief reasons advanced on all sides was the statement that the Germans were a rude, ignorant and uneducated class of people. This objection was frequently urged, and from that day to this it has been the custom for those who should know better to speak of the Pennsylvania-German settlers as illiterate and uneducated. No doubt this was, in some degree, due to the fact that the settlers did not, as a rule, learn to speak the English language, but ad-

hered to the use of their own language as well as to their manners and customs. But in point of education, as that term is generally understood, it is very probable that among the German settlers there was as large a percentage of educated people as among those speaking the English language, if, indeed, the percentage was not greater.

At the period when the colony of Maryland was founded it was not considered necessary for everyone to be educated and a very large proportion of the population, even among the well-to-do, were not able to write. This is plainly shown by the number of people who were compelled to make their marks in signing legal papers. Among the "gentlemen adventurers" who came over in Lord Baltimore's first colony were many who came within this category, and it was no unusual thing to find that some of the servants brought over had considerably more of an education than their principals. Indeed, it was quite customary to bring over among the servants some who were able to act as scrivener and letter-writer. The matter of securing an education was considered of minor importance, and if it was thought necessary with some of the younger generation, they were sent back to England for the purpose of securing it; but what they considered an education to be obtained in this way, was not so much a knowledge of the liberal arts as it was of the manners and customs of polite society, to be gained through visiting in the families of their English relatives.

This being the case, there was little interest taken in the matter of establishing schools, and it was many years before there were any schools. There were a number of causes which militated against the establishment of schools, but outside of the lack of interest and the absence of a feeling of necessity for an education, the chief cause was the

scattered condition of the population. The raising of tobacco was the chief occupation, and of necessity the settlers were scattered over a wide extent of territory. There was, in the early history of the colony, little to fear from the Indians, owing to the founder's pacific treatment of them, so that there was no occasion for the settlers to gather together in groups for protection, and towns and villages were unknown. So much so was this the case that, as one writer has pointed out,[71] if Maryland had had a law similar to the Massachusetts law of 1647, which provided that every township of fifty householders should appoint some one "to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read," it would not have required the establishment of a single school, as there was no portion of the province thickly enough settled to have fifty householders in an area equal to a New England township.

The earliest effort to establish an educational institution was made in 1671, but the bill was amended by the lower house of the assembly, which had a Protestant majority, in such a manner as to render it distasteful to the Roman Catholic upper house, and further consideration of it was dropped. At frequent intervals other attempts were made to found a system of schools, but they were generally unsuccessful. There were a number of reasons for this lack of success. In the first place, the country was so sparsely settled that there was no locality in which a central point could be selected for a school which would be convenient of access for the children of the settlers. Then, too, as a rule, the schools, if they were established, would be chiefly for the children of the poorer class of settlers, for those of means usually had their children taught by private teachers, although it must be said that there was not much inter-

[71] Sollers, "History of Education in Maryland," p. 16.

est taken in the matter of education and very many of the wealthier class of settlers had very little education, even some of the judges being unable to write their names. But the chief difficulty in the matter of providing schools was the impossibility of finding suitable teachers. As a rule the men who were secured as teachers were dissolute and intemperate individuals who were unable or unwilling to attempt to make a living in any other occupation. Large landowners who brought over servants frequently secured one who was competent to act as teacher for the younger members of the family. In this way the questions of education and servitude are, in a measure, related to each other. Sometimes a ne'er-do-well son of a wealthy English family was sent to the colony to get rid of him, rather than with an expectation of his bettering himself, and such an one frequently acted as teacher. There were instances, too, where convicts who had been transported to the colony were employed as teachers. In 1745 the officers of the school in Talbot county offered a reward of £5 currency for the capture of their Irish schoolmaster, who had run away with two geldings and a negro slave.

In 1696 a law was passed providing for the erection of a school in each county, but by 1717 but one had been erected, at Annapolis. Every few years a new law was passed providing for the erection of schools, but from one cause or another they proved abortive, and as late as March 21, 1754, a writer in the *Maryland Gazette* complained of the amount of money that was every year being sent to the neighboring province of Pennsylvania for educational purposes. "On inquiry," he says, "it has been found that there are at least 100 Marylanders in the academy at Philadelphia, and it is experimentally known that the annual charges for clothes, schooling, board, etc.,

amount (at least) to £75 Maryland currency, £50 sterling, for each youth sent thither—that is, to be genteelly and liberally educated. Hence it is evident that if this practice continues but twenty years (at the moderate computation of £5,000 sterling per annum) there must be remitted from Maryland for the benefit of the Pennsylvanians the round plumb or sum of £100,000 sterling. Besides this, 'tis well known that vast sums are every year transmitted to France, etc., for the education of our young gentlemen of the popish persuasion, etc. Though perhaps superior politics, interest and influence may render the saving the money in the latter case (entirely lost to the province) impracticable, yet certainly our Protestant patriots might contrive ways and means for keeping within Maryland the cash advanced (as aforesaid for the use of Pennsylvania), by establishing a college on each shore, or one at Annapolis, at which (if duly endowed and regulated by proper statutes) our Protestant youth might be educated much better, cheaper, and more conveniently accommodated, and at the same time the cost expended would still circulate within the province."

In 1763 Governor Sharpe wrote: "It is really to be lamented that while such great things are being done for the support of Colleges and Accademies in the Neighbouring Colonies, there is not in this even one good Grammar School. I should be glad if either by Donations or some other Method the Fund or annual Income of our School in this City could be augmented so as to enable us to give such a Salary to a Master & Usher as would encourage good & able Men to act in those Capacities."[72]

The matter of education was treated in a very different manner by the German settlers. It was the usual custom

[72] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XIV., p. 115.

REWARD OF MERIT.

DRAWN BY A PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SCHOOLMASTER.

for a party of German emigrants starting out to form a settlement to take with them a schoolmaster. One of the first buildings erected was a schoolhouse, very often before a church, and until the church building was provided the schoolhouse was used for religious services. It was many years before the different settlements and villages were able to have a regular minister, and in the absence of a pastor the religious services were usually conducted by the schoolmaster. The latter was very often the most important person in the settlement. He was usually well educated and generally he was the one to whom nearly everyone went for advice on almost any matter. He was the scrivener for drawing up legal papers or writing letters for those who were unable to write, and generally being an expert penman he was frequently called upon to draw up marriage certificates or certificates of baptism, which very often were executed in a very artistic manner. This facility in using the pen was put to use in making Rewards of Merit for the children in the school, usually comprising pictures of flowers and birds, an example of which is shown in one of the illustrations. These pen drawings were colored with inks made from various vegetables. In the original of the one illustrated the roses are colored different shades of pink, the ribbon with which they are tied is blue, and the eagle yellow. As a rule, though not always, the schoolmaster was an elderly man and not unfrequently, like Goldsmith's schoolmaster,

> "A man severe he was, and stern to view;
> I knew him well, and every truant knew:
> Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace
> The day's disasters in his morning face."

Sometimes in employing a schoolmaster the German

settlers were deceived by an adventurer, for there was a considerable number of unprincipled dissolute individuals travelling about through the colonies seeking employment wherever they could, sometimes even posing as ministers and securing control of the churches; and as these men were usually well educated they sometimes found employment as schoolmaster, though there were not very many instances of this sort.

If the schoolmaster was unmarried and had no family of his own he generally lived with the families whose children came to his school. "Children were not merely sent to school and their entire mental training left to the schoolmaster. Parents assisted their children in learning their lessons at home, and when schools and schoolmasters were wanting parents were the teachers of their children. . . . The German A B C Book and Spelling Book were frequently printed in this country, also Arithmetics, Readers, including the New Testament, Psalter and other books. The Catechism and Hymn-Book were also used in teaching the young to read. In many homes children would gather in the long winter evenings at the table at which meals were served during the day, that parents might assist them in learning their lessons."[73]

The best known of the early German schoolmasters of Maryland was Thomas Schley, the progenitor of Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, who, in 1735, settled in the locality where ten years later the town of Frederick was laid out. Mr. Schley is said to have built the first house in Frederick. From all accounts of him he appears to have been a man of considerable education, but his abilities were not

[73] Rev. Dr. F. J. F. Schantz, "The Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania-German Pioneer," in Proc. and Add. of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. X., p. 54.

confined to the teaching of the children, for he took an active part in all the affairs of the settlement. Speaking of him, Rev. Michael Schlatter says:[74] "It is a great advantage to this congregation Frederick that they have the best schoolmaster that I have met in America. He spares neither labor nor pains in instructing and edifying the congregation according to his ability, and by means of singing, and reading the word of God and printed sermons on every Lord's day."

Another Pennsylvania-German schoolmaster who settled in Maryland and took an active part in affairs was Benjamin Spyker, Jr., a son of Peter Spyker, president judge of the courts of Berks county, Pennsylvania. He was born in Berks county in 1747 and was given an unusually good education for those times. Shortly after reaching his majority he went to Sharpsburg, Maryland, which had been laid out about five years before, to become the schoolmaster of the German Reformed congregation of that place. Steps were immediately taken to build a schoolhouse, and in 1769, by means of a lottery, the sum of six hundred dollars was raised for this purpose and for completing the church. The managers for this lottery were George Strecher, Christian Orndorff, Joseph Smith, William Good, Abraham Lingenfelder, John Stull, Michael Fockler, George Dyson, and Benjamin Spyker.[75] At the outbreak of the Revolution Spyker raised a company and served as captain in the Flying Camp and later in the Maryland Line.

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[74] Harbaugh's "Life of Michael Schlatter," p. 177.

[75] *Maryland Gazette,* June 8, 1769.

The first settlers of Maryland brought with them a large number of servants, as according to the different "Conditions of Plantation," the amount of land which a settler was entitled to take up was determined by the number of servants he brought in. It has been estimated that among the original emigrants the ratio of servants to freemen was six to one.[76]

Later there were large numbers of Redemptioners, as they were called, who came to the colony. These were people whose services were sold to the settlers for a term of years, in order to pay for their passage to the colony. Some of the Redemptioners became so voluntarily in order to obtain passage to the colony, but many were forced into this involuntary servitude through misfortune or, as was often the case, through the criminality of the captains and owners of the ships which brought them to this country. While the condition in which these people found themselves was one of servitude, they were, as a rule, not treated badly, and many of them, when their term of service was ended, became landowners themselves. For many years, however, there were few Germans among the Redemptioners who came to Maryland, for the reason that very few German emigrants landed at Maryland ports; but as the German settlers increased in numbers and prospered and required additional help, it was no unusual thing for them to obtain Redemptioners from Philadelphia. This was only natural, for it was at that port that most of the Germans landed, and as the settlers naturally desired those of their own nationality as servants, it was necessary for them to go to that port to obtain them. That there were a great many servants obtained in this way is evident from the fact that in a record of Redemp-

[76] Johnson, "Foundations of Maryland," p. 173.

A SPINSTER OF THE OLDEN TIME.

tioners bound out on their arrival at Philadelphia, covering a period of only two years,[77] twenty-two were sold to residents of Maryland. This record is interesting as showing the length of time these Redemptioners were to serve, as well as the amount paid for their services. Their names and the persons who secured their services are as follows:

October 8, 1771, William Harry, of "Hagars twp., Conecocheig, Md.," secured the services of Jacob Kremewald for 3 years and 6 months for £22.8.7.

October 12, 1771, George Burkhart, of Frederick, Maryland, secured Johan Michael Smith and his wife for 3 years and 9 months at £39.9.1, and Rosina Trubb for 4 years and 6 months at £19.10.7.

October 16, 1771, Baltzer Gole, of Hagar's-Town, Frederick county, secured the services of Peter Drislaan and his wife Elizabeth Barbara, for 5 years for £43.4.6. According to the terms of the indenture they were to be found all necessaries, and at the expiration were to have one new suit of apparel, besides their old clothes.

The same day Nicholas Houer, of Frederick, obtained the services of Johannes Kast and his wife, Rachel Barbara, for 5 years, as servants, for £42.0.6.

October 29, 1771, Michael Fockler, of Frederick, secured Felix Meyer for 3 years for £16.11.6.

November 11, 1771, Joseph Neide, of Bohemia Manor, Cecil county, secured Christiana and Johannes Sappor, the former for 5 years at £22, and the latter for 14 years, 1

[77] "Record of Indentures of Individuals bound out as Apprentices, Servants, etc., and of German and other Redemptioners, in the office of the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, October 3, 1771, to October 5, 1773," in Proc. and Add. of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. XV., p. 9 et seq.

month and 21 days at £23.10.10. It was also agreed that Johannes should be taught to read in the Bible and write a legible hand.

December 4, 1771, Michael Waggoner, of Pipe Creek Hundred, Frederick county, obtained the services of Michael Piltz and Barbara, his wife, for 3 years for £25; Casper Piltz for 13 years for £10, and Rosina Barbara Piltz for 7 years for £18.

December 11, 1771, Martin Rohrer, of Conecocheague, Frederick county, obtained Peter Schleitz for 3 years and 6 months for £16.13, and Daniel Volks for 6 years for £17.5.3. At the expiration of their terms of services each was to receive, besides the usual two suits of wearing apparel, an ax, a grubbing hoe, and a maul and wedges, or 40 shillings in money.

December 17, 1771, John Innis, "near Conecocheig, Frederick Town, Frederick co., Md.," obtained Johannes Koch and Maria Eliza, his wife, for 4 years each, for £40.16.6.

July 22, 1772, Jacob Kimberlin, Jr., of Elizabeth township, Frederick county, obtained Mary Matthews for 2 years at £10.0.0.

October 24, 1772, Jacob Bear, of Conecocheague, Frederick county, obtained George Frederick Pindle for 11 years for £14.0.0.

May 31, 1773, Benjamin Esteurn, of Kitochin Hundred, Frederick county, obtained Catherine Manipenny as a servant, for 5 shillings. No term was specified in this case.

Negro slaves were owned in Maryland from a very early period. The culture of tobacco required the services of a large number of servants and this need was most readily supplied through this source. As the German

settlers became more numerous and required more assistance they naturally adopted the customs of their neighbors and acquired negro slaves. Some of them had religious scruples against slavery, but, as a rule, they followed the custom of the country and continued owning slaves until, at least, the early years of the nineteenth century, as shown by the following advertisement in the Hagerstown *Herald* of Friday, February 28, 1806, by the son of a Pennsylvania-German who settled in Maryland at a very early date:

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

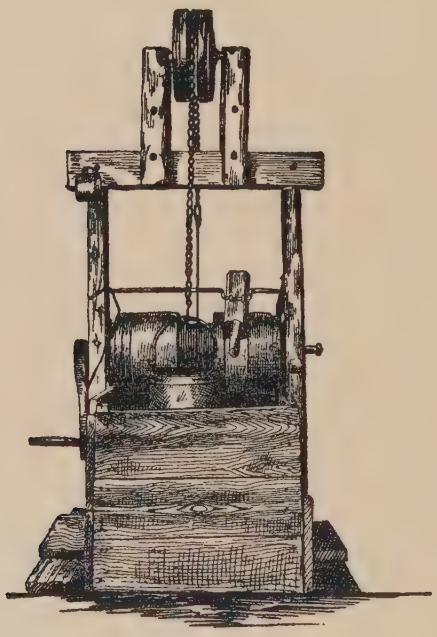
RAN AWAY from the subscriber, living near the Big Spring, about 12 miles from Hagerstown, in Washington county, Maryland, on Sunday, the 16th inst. a Negro Woman named Dinah, about 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, 23 or 24 years of age, squints with the left eye; had on and took with her one light calico gown, one blue and one dark; two jackets, one blue and one light; a white petticoat, two linsey jackets & two petticoats; two home made shifts, one bonnet of lead colour trimmed with black, and a new pair of shoes. Whoever takes up and secures said runaway in any jail, shall have, if taken up within 15 miles of home Five Dollars, and if a greater distance the above reward, to which will be added all reasonable charges if brought back.

DANIEL NEAD.

February 21, 1806.

It was not at all unusual for the Germans to free a slave by giving him manumission papers, and much more frequently they were freed by will, as was the case with

Peter Hoeflich, one of the first settlers in Hagerstown, whose will directed that "In relation to my negro man Arnold, it is my will that he be emancipated in three years from the 1st day of May, A. D. eighteen hundred and twenty-five, but he must make up all lost time during the three years that is lost from my death until he becomes free."



CHAPTER XI.

The Border Troubles.

THE unfortunate controversy between William Penn and his heirs and the Lords Baltimore over the boundary between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania had its foundation in the fact that at the time the respective charters were granted there was no accurate map of the country in existence. At the time the charter was issued to Lord Baltimore the territory it embraced was an unknown and unexplored wilderness. At that time it was not, relatively, of much importance to have the northern boundary of the colony strictly defined, the question becoming a serious one only after William Penn had received his charter, half a century later.

The map used in defining the boundary between the two colonies was the one made by Captain John Smith, in 1606, and while this map was remarkably accurate, considering the difficulties under which it was made, yet it was not absolutely so, particularly in the marking of the

various parallels of latitude; and it was this variation which was the chief cause of trouble later on. The charter granted to Lord Baltimore fixed the northern boundary of his colony at the fortieth parallel of north latitude, and the charter granted to Penn, fifty years later, defined the same point as the southern boundary of his demesne. Had this fortieth parallel been where it was supposed to be, and where the maps of the period showed it to be, there probably would have been no trouble. At the same time, the wording of the Maryland charter is very far from being clear. According to it Maryland was to extend "unto that part of the bay of Delaware on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial." It will be noted that the charter does not say that the province was to extend to the fortieth parallel of north latitude, which was Lord Baltimore's contention, but to the territory on Delaware Bay "which lieth under the 40th degree." Now the fortieth degree begins where the thirty-ninth ends: at the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude, so that a strict construction of the letter of the charter would fix the northern boundary of Maryland at the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude.

A great deal has been written on this controversy, most of which is so strongly tinctured with the partisan bias of the writer, that it is difficult to arrive at a correct understanding of the subject. It is no doubt a fact that both Penn and Baltimore honestly believed in the correctness and justice of their respective claims; at the same time, neither one can be absolved from the charge of indulging in sharp practices in their efforts to fortify those claims.

From the first settlement of the colony of Maryland Lord Baltimore was more or less active in looking after

his rights on the northern boundary of his colony, but the question did not become acute until about the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Shortly after the Dutch had captured the Swedish colony on the Delaware, in 1659, the Maryland authorities sent Col. Nathaniel Utie to notify Governor Alrichs, at New Amstel, that the settlers on the Delaware must either acknowledge the jurisdiction of Maryland over that colony or abandon the settlement, threatening dire consequences in the event of failure to comply with the notice. Col. Utie is said even to have taken the trouble to serve similar notices on the individual settlers. However, the Dutch authorities, after threatening to arrest Utie, paid little attention to the notice and nothing came of it.

William Penn was hardly settled in the possession of his colony when the same question came up. At a meeting of the Provincial Council, on April 3, 1684, a letter was received from Samuel Landis, High Sheriff of the County of Newcastle. As the old record has it, "Samuel Lands' Letter was read, Concerning Coll. Geo: Talbot's goeing with three Musqueters to y^e^ houses of Widdow Ogle, Jonas Erskin & Andreis Tille, and tould them that if they would not forthwith yield Obedience to y^e^ Lord Baltemore, & Own him to be their Propor, and pay rent to him, he would Tourne them out of their houses and take their Land from them."[78] This information caused considerable excitement, particularly as Sheriff Landis reported that Jonas Askins had heard Col. Talbot say that if William Penn himself should come into Maryland on his way to Susquehanna Fort, he would seize him and retain him, and Penn himself wrote out a commission to William

[78] Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. I., p. 113.

Welch, John Simcock and James Harrison to investigate the matter and report.[79] But outside of writing some letters back and forth between the Pennsylvania and Maryland authorities nothing was done.

Two years later, at a meeting of the Provincial Council, on June 5, 1686, the record states that

"John White Informes this board that y^e^ Marylanders have Lately Reinforced their fort at Christina and y^t^ they would not suffer him to Cutt hay, but thrittend those he Imployed to do it w^th^ their gunns presented against them, and y^t^ what hay they had Cutt y^e^ Mary Landers would not suffer them to Carry it away, and if they did Cutt any more y^e^ Marylanders sayd they would throw it in to y^e^ River. And further Informs that Majr English a few Days past came in to y^e^ County of New Castle with about fourty armed horse men; Left them at John Darby's whilst Majr Inglish and a Mary Land Capt Came to New Castle, where John White meeting him made Complaint to him of the abuses don him by y^e^ Mary Landers at y^e^ fort. Majr English tould him that if Thou wilt say you Drunken Dogg, ned Inglish lett me Cutt hay, I will give you Leave: Whereupon y^e^ sd John White Requested y^e^ Councill's advice how he should behave himselfe in this affaire. The Councill advised him to use no Violence, but bear with patience, not Doubting but y^e^ King will soon put an End to all their hostile actions against his Collony."[80]

The boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania not being clearly defined, and the authorities of both colonies claiming jurisdiction over certain sections, it was but natural that there should be frequent clashes and a generally unsettled condition of affairs. As both colonies demanded taxes from the settlers in the disputed territory the latter scarcely knew what to do, although some of them

[79] Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, Vol. I., p. 85.
[80] Colonial Records, Vol. I., p. 188.

acknowledged allegiance to that province which seemed most likely to further their own plans.

The lands lying to the west of the Susquehanna river were among the most fertile to be found in either of the two provinces and being, therefore, very desirable, every opportunity was sought to gain access to and settle upon them. When William Penn made his early treaties with the Indians it was agreed that he should have the right to take up lands in that section on either side of the Susquehanna, but it was mutually understood that the lands lying to the west of the Susquehanna should not be settled until they had been formally purchased from the Indians. There was no written agreement to this effect, at least none has ever been found, but frequent references to it indicate that it was in existence, at least verbally. The desirable lands along the west bank of the Susquehanna within the territory in dispute were eagerly desired, and it was in connection with them that the chief trouble arose.

The controversy over the disputed territory became prominent at an early date. At a meeting of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, on February 15, 1717,

"the Governr acquainted the Board that the Proprietors Commissioners of Property had lately Represented to him in Writing, that certain persons from Maryland had, Under Colour of Rights from that province, lately Survey'd out Lands not far from Conestogo, & near the thickest of our settlements to the Great Disturbance of the Inhabitants there, and that for preventing the Disorders which might arise from such Incroachments, they Desir'd that magistrates & proper officers should be appointed in those parts in order to Prevent the like for the ffuture. The Governour also imparted to the Board the Copy of a Letter which he had wrote on this Occasion to Collo. Hart, Governour of Maryland, and further added, that this Day the Secretary had shewn him a

Letter from Collo. ffrench, Informing of ffurther Designs of the same kind, that the same persons from Maryland was Immediately upon putting in Execucon; That hereupon he thought it necessary fforthwith to Call the Council, as he now did, and Desired their Advice what methods might be most proper to be taken in the premises."[81]

The members of the Council recognized the importance of the matter and ordered that a commission be prepared appointing Col. French ranger and keeper, with instructions to take such steps as might be agreed upon. It was also decided to appoint magistrates for that section. But the trouble was not to be so easily allayed. The settlers from the south wanted those fertile lands and were determined to have them, if it were possible.

It was not very difficult to prevent the Pennsylvania settlers from crossing the Susquehanna and occupying lands to the west of that river, but it was altogether different with those who came up from Maryland. The authorities of the latter colony claimed jurisdiction over the territory in dispute, and if they did not actually issue warrants for land in that section they at least made no efforts to prevent the Maryland settlers from taking up land in the territory which the Pennsylvania authorities claimed to belong to that province. Although it had been agreed between Penn and the Indians that no settlements should be made to the west of the Susquehanna until the land was actually purchased, the aggressive actions of the Marylanders in taking up lands alarmed the Indians, who complained to Governor Keith, of Pennsylvania, and the latter, in the hope that further trouble might be avoided by taking up the land, persuaded the Indians to allow a

[81] Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. III., p. 37.

large tract of land on the west bank of the Susquehanna to be surveyed into a manor for the use of Springett Penn, and to be known at Springettsbury Manor. Writing to the Pennsylvania Council from Conestoga on June 18, 1722, Governor Keith says:

"Finding the Indians, since I came last here, to be very much alarmed with the noise of an intended survey from Mary Land, upon the Banks of Sasquehannah, I held a Council with them at Conestogoe, upon Tuesday & Saturday last, wherein I proposed to them to Cause a large Tract of Land to be surveyed on the Side of that River for the Proprietor, to begin from the Upper Line of my new settlement six miles back, & extending downwards upon the River as far as over against the mouth of Conestogoe Creek."[82]

He went on to say that the Indians were pleased with the proposition, and that having heard that the Marylanders proposed setting out for Pennsylvania on that day he intended having the survey made at once. The land was surveyed on June 19 and 20, 1722, but this action did not have the effect intended, in keeping the colonists from Maryland from settling on the land. In the following year a number of people from Maryland took up land in that locality, among them being Edward Parnell, Jeffrey Summerfield, Michael Tanner and Paul Williams, who settled near the Indian town of Conejohela. In 1728 these settlers were driven off by the Pennsylvania authorities, and as no warrants for the land could be issued, the Proprietary land office having been closed from 1718 to 1732, during the minorities of Thomas and Richard Penn, and the land not having been purchased from the Indians, Samuel Blunston, of Wright's Ferry, was authorized to

[82] Ibid., p. 178.

issue licenses to settlers to take up land on the west of the Susquehanna river. These licenses were promises to grant the holders patents for the land they settled, and about twelve thousand acres were taken up under these licenses, and after the territory was purchased from the Indians, in 1736, the patents were signed by the Proprietary, Thomas Penn, at Lancaster.[83]

But even these proceedings could not keep back the settlers from Maryland. In March, 1730, Thomas Cresap received a grant from Maryland for the land from which the Pennsylvanians had driven Parnell and others a couple of years before, and settled upon it. With the coming of Cresap the trouble among the settlers in the disputed territory became more acute, and it was not very long before it culminated in a condition of actual warfare along the border. It is difficult at this day to form an accurate opinion of the character of Cresap. According to the Pennsylvanians he was a quarrelsome, lawless individual whose home was a rendezvous for criminals and fugitives from justice and other disreputable characters, who were banded together under the leadership of Cresap; while from the viewpoint of the Marylanders he was a law-abiding citizen of that province who was continually being interfered with in his efforts to develop the land which had been granted to him. It is a pretty well established fact, however, that either under an agreement with Governor Ogle, of Maryland, or, at least, with the connivance of the latter, Cresap made his advent and organized a body of followers numbering about fifty for the express purpose of driving the settlers from the territory along the west bank of the Susquehanna; those settlers, at least, who acknowledged the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania,

[83] "History of Waynesboro," by Benjamin M. Nead, p. 29.

and it is evident that whatever the character of Cresap may have been he proposed to accomplish that end, no matter what means might have to be employed. A campaign of bluster was started and many of the settlers were ordered to leave under threats of dire punishment in case they did not heed the notice to leave.

A good idea of the state of affairs may be gathered from a letter written to the Governor of Pennsylvania by John Wright and Samuel Blunston, under date of October 30, 1732, in which they say:

"About two years Since, Thomas Cressop, and some other people of Loose Morals and Turbulent Spirits, Came and disturbed the Indians, our friends and Allies, who were peaceably Settled on those Lands from whence the said Parnel and others had been removed, Burnt their Cabbins, and destroyed their Goods, And with much threatening and Ill-usage, drove them away; and by pretending to be under the Maryland government (as they were got far from their Laws, Sought to Evade ours). Thus they proceeded to play booty, Disturbing the Peace of the Government, Carrying people out of the Province by Violence, Taking away the Guns from our friends, the Indians, Tying and making them Prisoners, without any offence given; And threatening all who should oppose them; And by Underhand and Unfair practices, Endeavoring to Alienate the minds of the Inhabitants of this Province, and Draw them (from Obedience) to their party. Their Insolence Increasing, they Killed the horses of Such of our people whose trade with the Indians made it Necessary to Keep them on that Side of the river, for Carrying their Goods & Skins; Assaulted those who were sent to look after them, and threatened them Highly if they should Come there again."[84]

Among those who sought a refuge in Cresap's house was Samuel Chance, a debtor of Edward Cartlidge, an

[84] Pennsylvania Archives, First Ser., Vol. I., p. 364.

Indian trader. Cartlidge's son arranged to capture Chance and bring him back. Cresap was operating a ferry across the Susquehanna river and Chance was helping him in running his boats. On one occasion, on the last day of October, 1730, when Cresap and Chance were called to the east side of the river, they found there a party consisting of Edward Beddock, Rice Morgan, and a negro belonging to Cartlidge. The party embarked in the boat and when in mid-stream they attacked Cresap, threw him overboard and rowed back to land with Chance. Cresap succeeded in landing on an island in the river, from which he was later taken by an Indian. He made a report of this proceeding to the Governor of Maryland, embodied in a deposition made before Benjamin Tasker,[85] in which he claimed that Chance was a debtor of his and was working for him to discharge part of his indebtedness. In sending this deposition to Governor Gordon, of Pennsylvania, the Governor of Maryland wrote that he had been told by some Indians "that they were offered a good reward by one Cartlidge, of Conestogoe, to drive Said Cresap and his family off his land and burn his home."

Disturbances were continually breaking out, armed parties coming up from Maryland and threatening the settlers, and being met by armed posses of Pennsylvanians. As a rule, these encounters were bloodless battles, although not always was this the case. In the early part of 1734 John Emerson, a Lancaster lawyer who had been appointed ranger and keeper of Conestoga manor, went to Cresap's house to arrest him. He took with him his servant, Knowles Daunt, and five others. Cresap fired on the party and Daunt received a wound from the effects of which he died.

[85] Ibid., p. 311.

In July, 1735, Cresap came to the plantation of John Wright with an armed party and announced that they had come to fight, but his blustering attitude had little effect upon Wright and the party retired without opening hostilities. Shortly after this Governor Ogle, of Maryland, ordered the militia of Baltimore and Harford counties, under Colonels Rigsbe and Hall, to muster for the purpose of going up into the disputed territory to distrain for the Maryland levies which had been made among the inhabitants of that region. Information to this effect having reached the Lancaster county magistrates, they induced Benjamin Chambers, of the Conococheague settlement (now Chambersburg), to go to the muster and learn all he could concerning it. Colonel Chambers made the trip and although he was at first regarded as a spy he was finally allowed to depart, and hurrying to Donegal where many of the settlers had gathered for a house-raising, he reported the results of his investigations, and a large party of armed men immediately left for Wright's ferry, where they met the Marylanders, and the latter, considering themselves overmatched, returned to Maryland.[86]

In 1736, in a letter to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, John Wright describes another invasion. Under date of Tuesday, September 7th, he writes:

"After our Sheriff and People had waited some time in expectation of the Marylanders arrival, & were mostly Dispersed, on Saturday night last, the Sheriff of Baltimore and the greater part of their Military officers, with upwards of two Hundred Men, arrived at Cressap's, and about noon on Saturday, came in Arms, on horseback, with Beat of Drum and sound of Trumpet, to Hendricks, their Sheriff, and several other Gentlemen, that afternoon, at different times, came to John Wright, Jun., where about thirty

[86] Pennsylvania Archives, First Ser., Vol. IV., p. 535.

of our People were Lodged, to Demand the Dutch who were some of them in his house. Our sheriff sent them a written message, desireing to know the Reason of their coming in that Hostile manner, to threaten the peace of our Province, They Dated their answer from John Hendricks, in Baltimore County. However, Justice Guest, one of their Company, appointed ten o'clock the next day to speak with some of our People; but about five that evening, they left Hendricks with great Precipitation, and went to Cressap's. Yesterday our Sheriff sent a written message that he had orders to Command them peacably to Depart; But if any of their Company would meet the Magistrates, and some other Persons of our County, who were with him, and endeavour amicably to settle those unhappy Differences at present subsisting in these parts, they sho[d] receive no Insults or Ill usage. To which their sheriff return'd a Insolent and threatening answer in writing, & much more by word of mouth. Soon after John Wilkins, one of our Company, unknown to the rest, went down to Cressap's, whom they took prisoner, upon pretence of his having been in a former Riot, & sent under a Guard towards Maryland. Our Magistrates sent them a Letter, to desire Wilkins might be suffered to return home, which they refused to receive. 'Tis said a messenger is sent down to their Governor, who is still waiting in Baltimore County, and is expected up this day w[th] considerable more force.

"Our Sheriff with about a hundred and fifty people, have been, since Sunday evening, at John Wright's, Jun. No hostilitys have as yet been Committed, except the taking of Wilkins; But they have sent our People word this day to take care of their Buffs. Had we arms & ammunition, of which we are almost Destitute, we Judge, from the Disposition of our People, that we might come of with Honour; But for want of them, they think it not safe to wait upon such a number of armed men to the limits of our promise; But to endeavor to Defend such of his Majesties peaceable subjects, as are fled from their own Houses, and come to them for Refuge. Sam[l] Blunston came home from the other side

the River in the night, last night, and Immediately return'd. He desired this account might be sent to you; which for the want of a better Hand to do it, I have very faithfully performed."[87]

The Pennsylvania authorities finally came to the conclusion that matters had been allowed to drift long enough, and decided to have Cresap arrested for the murder of Knowles Daunt. A warrant, dated September 5, 1736, was, therefore, issued by Jeremiah Langhorne and Thomas Greeme, magistrates of Philadelphia.[88] This was placed in the hands of Samuel Smith, sheriff of Lancaster county, and on the night of November 24, 1736, with a posse of about thirty men, he surrounded Cresap's house. Cresap's party at once opened fire on the posse and in the fight one of the sheriff's party was wounded. Finding that nothing could be accomplished in this way, the sheriff ordered Cresap's house to be set on fire. This was done, and when the fire had gained considerable headway the entire party rushed out, firing as they came. In the confusion of their escape from the burning building, Michael Reisner, one of Cresap's party, accidentally shot and killed Lauchlan Malone, another of the party. As he came from the house Cresap was overpowered, and with several of his party was sent to Philadelphia, where he was confined in jail. It is said that when he was being taken through the streets of Philadelphia he looked around and said: "Why, this is the finest city in the province of Maryland!"[89] He was confined in jail for over a year and when finally released returned to Maryland and settled at Antietam.

[87] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Ser., Vol. VII., p. 213.
[88] Pennsylvania Archives, First Ser., Vol. I., p. 489.
[89] Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," Vol. I., p. 114.

About the same time the following communication was sent to the Governor of Maryland:[90]

Sir LANCASTER COUNTY IN PENSILVANIA

The Oppression and ill Usage We have met with from the Government of Maryland, or at least from such Persons who have been empowered thereby and their Proceedings connived at, has been a Treatment (as We are well informed) very different from that which the Tenants of your Government have generally met with, which with many other cogent Reasons, give Us good Cause to conclude the Governor and Magistrates of that Province do not themselves believe Us to be settled within the real Bounds of his Lordships Dominions, but we have been seduced & made Use of, first by fair Promises, and afterwards by Threats and Punishments to answer Purposes which are at present unjustifiable, and will if pursued tend to Utter Ruin.

We therefore the Subscribers with many Others Our Neighbours being become at last truly sensible of the Wrong we have done the Proprietors of Pensilvania in settling on their Lands without paying Obedience to their Government do resolve to return to our Duty and live under the Laws and Government of Pensilvania, in which Province We believe Our selves seated.

To this We unanimously resolve to adhere 'till the Contrary shall be determined by a legal Decision of the Disputed Bounds, and Our honest and just Intention we desire may be communicated to the Governor of Maryland or whom else it may concern.

Signed with Our Own hands this Eleventh day of August Anno Dom. 1736.

Michael Tanner Jacob Welshoffer Charles Jones Nicholas Baun
Henry Lib Hart Henry Hendrix Jacob Lawnius
Martin Schultz Christian Crowler Francis Worley junr
Tobias Fray Balthar Shambargier Jacob Seglaer his X mark
Martin Fray George Scobell Nicholas Birij Jacob Grable
Jacob Seglaer Philip Sanglaer Henry Stantz
Caspar Sanglaer Tobias Bright & al

[90] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXVIII., p. 100.

Two days later the following communication was sent by the same persons and others to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania:[91]

The Petition of most of the Inhabitants on the west side of the Sasquehanna River, opposite to Hempfield, in the County of Lancaster, Humbly Sheweth, that your petitioners, two or three years past, (Being many of us newly arrived in America,) and altogether strangers to the Boundaries of the two Provinces of Pennsylvania & Maryland, were, by many plausable pretences and fair promises, persuaded to settle under the Government of the latter, supposing from what we were then told, that these lands were within that Province, And that the River Sasquehanna was the Division. But after we were seated, finding the usage we received was very different from that to the rest of the Government, and what small substance we had, was made a pray to some persons impowered by them. And th° we often made known our cause of complaint, could have no redress, nor the promises, which had been first made us, in the least Regarded. Being also lately told by some in power there that we were worse than Negroes, for that we had no Master, nor were under the protection of any laws, and since informed by them, that the River Sasquehanna, could not be the bounds, as we had been at first told, but that an East and West Line would Divide the Provinces. And also, observing that the People on the East side of said River, Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, who live much more to the Southward than we Do, Enjoyed their possessions peaceably, without any Disturbance or claim from the Province of Maryland. We, from these reasons, Concluded we had been imposed upon and Deluded, to answer some purposes of the Government of Maryland, which are not justifiable, and might, in the end, tend to our Ruin; and that we were not settled within the true and Real bounds of that Province, as we had been made to believe. And from a sense thereof, and of the wrong we were doing to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, in Living on their

[91] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Ser., Vol. VII., p. 215.

Lands, (as we now conceive we are,) without paying the acknowledgements due to them for the same, and in denying Obedience to the Laws of your Government, Unanimously Resolved to Return to our Duty. Your Humble Petitioners, therefore, pray you would Impute our late Errors to our want of better Information, And would be pleased to Receive us under the Protection of your Laws and Government. To which for the future we promise all faithful obedience and submission and in Granting this our humble Petition your petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray for your Health and Prosperity. Signed with our own hands and Dated the thirteenth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six.

The receipt of this paper, together with the knowledge that a similar communication had been sent to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, angered the Maryland authorities, and at a meeting of the Maryland Council, held on October 21, 1736, it was put on record that the Council had good reason to be assured that this action on the part of the settlers in the disputed territory had been instigated and countenanced "by some who pretended to be Magistrates and Residents of Pennsylvania." The Council went on to say that such proceedings "may have the most mischievous Consequences, not only to the Peace of this Province, but also in the Example which may be thereby given to any other of his Majestys Subjects daring to refuse Subjection to the Government in which they live and reside."[92] They, therefore, adopted a resolution directing that a proclamation be issued offering a reward for the arrest of "all who have acted, countenanced or abetted the Actors in any of the Matters aforesaid."

In accordance with this resolution, on October 21, 1736 Governor Ogle issued a proclamation offering a reward of

[92] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXVIII., p. 101.

one hundred pounds each for the arrest of Samuel Blunston and John Wright, magistrates, Samuel Smith, sheriff, and Edward Smoute; twenty pounds each for the arrest of Michael Tanner, Christian Crowle, Mark Evans, Charles Jones, the constable, and Joshua Minshall; and ten pounds each for the arrest of the following persons: Jacob Grabill, Jacob Seglaer, Conrad Lowe, Christian Lowe, Jacob Seglaer, Jr., Michael Aringall, Philip Seglaer, Dennis Myer, Hance Stanner, Tobias Spright, Tobias Henricks, Leonard Immel, Balchar Sangar, Michael Wallack, Michael Evat, Michael Miller, Jasper Carvell, George Swope, George Philier, Nicholas Butchiere, Andrew Phlaviere, Henry Stantz, Henry Lephart, Peter Gartner, Jacob Lawnious, Nicholas Conn, Conrad Stricklaer, Henry Bowen, Francis Worley, Junr., Martin Sluys, Jacob Hoopinder, Michael Raishiere, Tobias Fry, Martin Fry, Henry Smith, Jacob Welshoffer, Henry Henricks, Adam Byard, Godfrey Fry, Methusalem Griffith, Bartholomew Shambarriere, Nicholas Hatchey, Yorrick Cobell, Henry Young, Michael Waltz, Kelyon Smith, Caspar Varglass, Martin Wyngall, Nicholas Peery, Bryonex Tandre and Eurick Myer.

Michael Tanner, Joshua Minshall and Charles Jones were arrested and confined in the jail at Annapolis.

In spite of these actions the disorder along the border continued, and finally the matter was brought to the attention of the King, and by an order in council, dated August 18, 1737, the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania were commanded to put a stop to the disorders and grant no more warrants for land in the disputed territory until the boundary question was settled. In 1738 an agreement was made for the running of a provisional line between the provinces which was not to interfere with the actual pos-

sessions of the settlers, but was merely to suspend all grants in the disputed territory until the final settlement of the boundary question.

This settled the border warfare, but some years later another matter came up which, for a time, threatened to drive a large number of the German settlers from western Maryland. It was but natural that quite frequently some of the settlers were not able to meet the payments of quit-rents as they fell due and at length it became the custom to turn these claims over to the sheriffs for collection, and these officers frequently added such an exorbitant amount as commissions and penalties, that it finally became a question whether many of the Germans would remain in the province. The matter was brought before the Council by Governor Ogle at a meeting held on June 7, 1748. In his statement he says:

"Sometimes Lists (which the People call Black lists) have been Delivered to the Sheriffs of arrears of Rents due and when such lists have been so Delivered, the Sheriffs have not only Charged the People a Commission of Ten p Cent for Receiving the Money but also a fee of 168 pounds of Tobacco, till Lately it has been reduced to 126 or 15 shillings Altho the Money has been Paid them and they never made any Distress; This has been Submitted to by Several because they did not know but that the demand was Iust, and if otherwise they knew not how to obtain any Relief without Puting themselves to a greater expence in seeking Relief than the fees and ten p Cent were worth. But of Late these particulars have been carried to so great a length that it has made a great many People Resolve to Leave their habitations and the Province, rather than to submit to such Impositions (as they have been lately informed they were) and Several are actually gone, and others Intend to follow as soon as they can dispose of what they have, at any rate: The Present Sheriff having one of these

Black Lists on or about the eighth day of March last past, an under sheriff Summoned the Persons to attend the high Sheriff at Frederick Town, which they accordingly did, and Paid down all that was Demanded of them together with Ten p Cent (except Stephen Ranspergen who did not Pay the ten p Cent) and every one of them Paid fifteen shillings to the Sheriff."[93]

The Governor also submitted the names of the following persons who had paid the fifteen shillings penalty: Jacob Foot, Peter Apple, Henry Trout, Melcar Wherfield, Christian Thomas, Peter Hoffman, Christian Getsoner, Stephen Ransbergen, Henry Roads, Conrad Kemp, Francis Wise, Jacob Smith, George Lye, Isaac Miller, Thomas Johnson, Joseph Browner, Henry Browner, Nick Frisk, John Smith, John Browner, Jacob Browner, Ken. Backdolt, Nicholas Reisner, David Delaitre, Martin Wisell, Casper Windred and Peter Shaffer.

In a deposition by Stephen Ransbergen, dated May 6, 1748, he says:

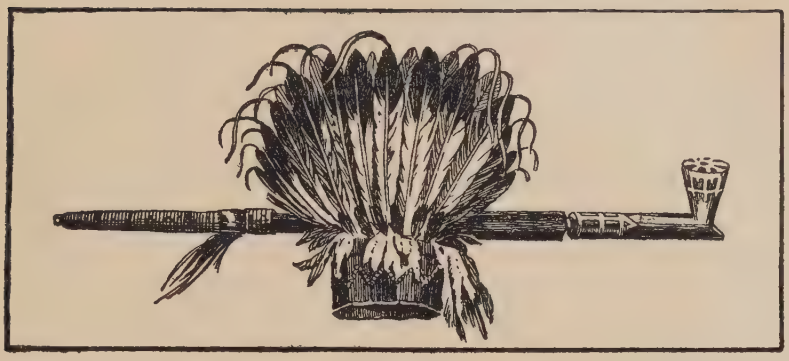
"A Great Number of the Germans and some others were so much alarmed by the Sheriffs Proceedings, that Several of them have already left the Province, and others have declared, that as soon as they could sell what they are Possessed off, they would go away, many of the Germans declaring that they being Oppressed in their Native Country, Induced them to Leave it, and that they were Apprehensive of being Equally oppressed here, and that therefore they would go away to avoid it."[94]

Several other depositions to the same effect were read at this meeting of the Council, and the sheriff of Prince George's county and the farmer of quit-rents being present, Governor Ogle instructed the sheriff that he should be

[93] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXVIII., p. 420.
[94] Ibid., p. 423.

very careful in exacting no fees from the people and in doing nothing that was not warranted by law, and to the farmers he said that "they should use all the lenity possible in collecting the quit-rents from the people." This disposition of the matter seems to have settled the trouble, as nothing further is heard of it.

The boundary question was not finally settled, however, until the two English surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, ran the line which has gone into history as Mason and Dixon's Line. This survey was started in December, 1763, and the surveyors were finally discharged in December, 1767. This line was marked at intervals of a mile by stone monuments, every fifth monument having carved on the northern side the arms of Penn and on the southern side the arms of Lord Baltimore.



CHAPTER XII.

The French and Indian War.

THE amicable relations with the Indians established by the first colonists in Maryland continued for more than a century. There was never any trouble, at least with the southern Indians, and the latter assisted the colonists in defending themselves when the northern Indians became threatening. It was not until the redmen were drawn into the quarrels between England and France that trouble arose for the Marylanders.

The war between England and France was ended by the treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, but that treaty did not settle the question of the boundaries between the colonies of the two countries in America. At that time the territory under the control of England embraced only a rather narrow strip along the Atlantic coast, and did not extend very far to the westward, although the English

claimed the country westward to the Pacific ocean. In the possession of France was Canada, on the north, and the Louisiana territory, on the south, and the French claims included all the territory between these two sections. It was the design of the French to connect these two colonies by a line of forts extending from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of Mexico, by way of the St. Lawrence, the lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. As early as 1745 the Marquis de la Galissonière, the Governor-general of Canada, had begun putting this scheme into execution.

The British government naturally made its own preparations to check this advance of the French, which would cut off the English from pushing farther westward, and in pursuance of its plans in 1749 made a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land to the Ohio Company, an association made up of a number of residents of Maryland and Virginia. The territory covered by this grant lay on the south side of the Ohio river, between the Kanawha and Monongahela rivers. According to the terms of this grant a large part of the land was to be settled immediately, one hundred families were to settle upon it within seven years and a fort was to be erected and maintained as a defense against the Indians.

When the Marquis Du Quesne de Menneville succeeded the Marquis Galissonière as Governor-general, in 1752, he continued the policy of his predecessor and rapidly extended the fortifications along the lakes, and in 1753 erected a fort at Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania, and one on the Rivière aux Bœufs, now French Creek. In working out their plan the French endeavored as far as possible to make friends with the Indians and turn the latter against the English. In this design they were largely successful, being aided by the fears of the Indians

on account of the encroachment of the English settlers on the redmen's domain. Through the intrigues of the French, on the one hand, and the spreading out of the English settlements, on the other, it required but a small spark to fire the train already laid and cause it to break out into a fierce conflagration.

The Ohio Company proceeded to carry out the terms of its grant and at the beginning of 1754 a small company of militia furnished by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, started to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. The officers of this company were William Trent, captain; John Frazer, Lieutenant, and Edward Ward, Ensign. On April 17, 1754, during the absence of both the captain and lieutenant, Contrecœur, the French commander at Rivière aux Bœufs, made his appearance with a force of several hundred men and compelled Ensign Ward to surrender. The Frenchman at once went ahead with the erection of the fort, enlarging it and making it more formidable, and named it Fort Du Quesne. At the time of the surrender a body of three hundred militia, sent by Governor Dinwiddie to garrison the fort, were on their way to the Forks of the Ohio. These troops were under the command of Colonel Joshua Fry and Lieutenant-colonel George Washington. News of the surrender of the fort by Ensign Ward reached these officers while at Will's Creek, and they advanced very cautiously. Hearing that a French force under Coulson de Jumonville was not far away, Washington went out to meet them, and in the fight that ensued de Jumonville and a number of his men were killed and the rest of them taken prisoners. Not long after this Colonel Fry being killed by a fall from his horse, Washington became the commander of the expedition. When Contrecœur, the commander at Fort Du

Quesne, heard of this fight, he sent a party of six hundred men against Washington's force The latter hastily constructed a fortification at Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked on July 3, 1754, and not being able to hold the place against a superior force, he was compelled to surrender. He retreated to Will's Creek, now Cumberland, where his force went into camp, and he returned to Virgina to acquaint Governor Dinwiddie with the result of the expedition.

This was the beginning of the struggle that was to last for years and to almost depopulate some sections of the country. The German settlers of western Maryland were nearest to the scene of hostilities and they were, for a time at least, to endure all the horrors of a bloody warfare with a savage foe. They did their part, too, in defending the country against the invaders, in spite of the fact that Governor Sharpe did not have much faith in their willingness to do so. On November 3, 1754 he wrote:

"It is expected I apprehend from your letter that the Germans who have imported themselves into these Provinces will be found as ready as they are capable of bearing Arms on the Occasion, but I can assure you that whatever Character they may deserve for Courage or military skill I despair of seeing any of them so forward as to offer themselves Voluntiers under my Command unless the Enemy was to approach so far as actually to deprive them of their Habitations & Possessions of which alone they are found tenacious."[95]

The provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia were the ones which were chiefly interested in holding back the French, for the reason that French occupation of the territory along the Ohio would prevent their expansion to the

[95] Archives of Maryland, Vol. VI, p. 110.

westward; and for this reason, because the territory belonging to Maryland was not involved in the contest, the Maryland assembly was lukewarm in making preparations for taking part in the war. The perennial controversy between the upper and lower houses also had a great deal to do with the negligence of the authorities in this respect. On the part of all the colonies there was a feeling that this was a war between England and France, although the scene of it was on the western continent, and this being the case, it was thought that the mother country should provide for the expenses of carrying it on. The Maryland assembly put itself on record as being opposed to helping in a war of conquest but was ready to do its part in defending the province against invasion. The German settlers on the frontier, however, knew only too well what to expect, and at once made what preparations they could to protect themselves, no matter what the attitude of the authorities might be. Companies of riflemen and rangers were organized and scouts were sent out to give warning of approaching danger. Many of the settlers of the more outlying sections abandoned their homes and with their families went to the more thickly-settled regions

As soon as the news of the defeat of the provincials at Fort Necessity reached the east Governor Sharpe called the Maryland assembly into session on July 17th, and asked for an appropriation for raising troops. The legislature passed an act appropriating six thousand pounds to be used by Governor Sharpe "for his majesty's use, towards the defence of the colony of Virginia, attacked by the French and Indians, and for the relief and support of the wives and children of the Indian allies that put themselves under the protection of this government." Three companies were raised to be sent to Will's Creek,

where Colonel Innes, who commanded the North Carolina troops, had erected a fort which was named Fort Cumberland Besides the men from North Carolina the troops under Colonel Innes' command consisted of three companies from New York, one company from South Carolina and a company of one hundred Marylanders, altogether a little more than one thousand men.[96]

In the autumn of 1754 Governor Sharpe was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces engaged against the French on the Ohio, and he at once set out for Fort Cumberland, where he arrived in November He proceeded to prepare for active operations in the spring and gathered large quantities of military stores and provisions, although he was greatly handicapped by the refusal of the assembly to appropriate money to carry on the war, except under such conditions as the Governor could not approve. In December the assembly passed a law for levying troops and provided that if in the service any citizen should be so maimed as to be incapable of maintaining himself he should be supported at the public expense There was no difficulty in obtaining volunteers. The settlers in the western part of the province promptly enrolled themselves, and even in the eastern section calls for volunteers were promptly met.

In February, 1755, Major General Edward Braddock arrived from England to take command of the forces engaged against the French. Braddock's plan of campaign was laid out for him before he left England,[97] and on his arrival he called a council of the colonial governors, which was held at Alexandria, before which the plans were dis-

[96] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXVIII., p. 77.

[97] See secret instructions to Gen. Braddock from George III., Pennsylvania Archives, Second Ser., Vol. VI., p. 223.

cussed and three expeditions were arranged for: the one against Fort Duquesne, to be commanded by Gen. Braddock, with the regulars, reinforced by troops from Maryland and Virginia; one against Niagara and Fort Frontenac, to be led by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and one against Crown Point, under Sir William Johnson. In preparing for his campaign Braddock made his headquarters at Frederick. The expedition started for the Ohio on May 30, and after it had left large numbers of Maryland troops marched to the frontiers to garrison the posts and protect the settlers As the assembly failed to appropriate money for maintaining these troops the expense was met by private subscription.

The details of the disastrous Braddock campaign are outside the scope of this work and cannot be given here. The effects of it were prompt and overwhelming. The extreme western settlements of Maryland were abandoned, the settlers flying for protection to more eastern points, some of them, however, stopping at Fort Cumberland and others at the block-house of Col. Thomas Cresap. Terror and desolation reigned everywhere. Hostile bands of Indians made raids on unprotected outposts, massacreing the garrisons and such settlers as they were able to capture. Even before the defeat of Braddock the Indian raids had begun. On June 28 Governor Sharpe sent the following message to the lower house:

> I have just received letters from Col. Innes at Fort Cumberland, and from the back inhabitants of Frederick County, advising me that a party of French Indians last Monday morning (June 23) fell on the inhabitants of this province, and killed two men and one woman (who have been since found dead), eight other persons they have taken prisoners and carried off. The names of the persons who were murdered and left are John Williams, his

wife, and grandson, and with their bodies also was found that of a French Indian. The persons carried off are Richard Williams (a son of John who was murdered), with two children, one Dawson's wife and four children. Richard William's wife and two brothers of the young man that is killed have made their escape. This accident, I find, has so terrified the distant inhabitants that many of them are retiring and forsaking their plantations. Another letter from Winchester, in Virginia, informs me that a party of Indians have also attacked the back inhabitants of that province, of whom they have killed eleven and carried away many captives. Apprehending the French would proceed in this manner as soon as Gen. Braddock and the troops under his control should have passed the mountains, and being confirmed in my opinion by an intimation in the general's letter, I issued a proclamation near a month since, cautioning the distant and other inhabitants of this province to be on their guard, and unite for their common defence and safety. At the same time I sent peremptory orders and instructions to the officers of the militia of Frederick County frequently to muster and discipline their several troops and companies, once a fortnight at least, and in case of alarm that the enemy was approaching or had fallen on the inhabitants, to march out and act either offensively or defensively, and use all means to protect and defend the inhabitants from the devastations of the French or Indians. However, I find neither the proclamation nor instructions will be effective unless the militia can be assured that they shall receive satisfaction, and be paid for the time they are out on duty. I should consider it highly proper for us to have about one hundred, or at least a company of men, posted or constantly ranging for some time on the frontiers for our protection. In this I desire your advice, and that you will enable me to support such a number.

Shortly after this a party of settlers on their way to Fort Cumberland was attacked and fifteen of them killed, three escaping. The following account from the *Maryland Gazette* of October 9, 1755, gives some idea of the state of affairs that followed Braddock's defeat:

By a person who arrived in town last Monday from Col Cresap's, we are told that last Wednesday morning the Indians had taken a man prisoner who was going from Frazier's to Fort Cumberland, and had also carried off a woman from Frazier's plantation, which is four miles on this side Fort Cumberland. The same morning they fell in with a man and his wife who had left their plantations, and were retiring into the more populous part of the country; they shot the horse on which the man was riding, but as it did not fall immediately he made his escape. The woman, it is supposed, fell into their hands, as neither she or the horse on which she was riding have been seen since or heard of. The same party of Indians also have carried off or killed Benjamin Rogers, his wife, and seven children, and Edmund Marle, one family of twelve persons, besides fifteen others, all in Frederick County. On Patterson's Creek many families have within this month been murdered, carried away, or burnt in their houses by a party of these barbarians, who have entirely broke up that settlement.

Another person, who left Stoddert's fort last Sunday, acquaints us that the inhabitants in that part of the country were in the greatest consternation. That near eight persons were fled to the said fort for protection, and many more gone off in the greatest confusion to Pennsylvania. This, it seems, had been occasioned by a dispatch sent to Lieut. Stoddert and the neighborhood by Col. Cresap, advising them that a party of seventeen Indians had passed by his house and had cut off some people who dwelt on the Town Creek, which is a few miles on this side of Cresap's. One Daniel Ashloff, who lived near that creek, is come down towards Conococheague, and gives the same account. He also says that as himself and father, with several others, were retiring from their plantations last Saturday they were attacked by the same Indians, as he supposes, and all but himself were killed or taken prisoners. It is said that Mr. Stoddert, who has command of fifteen men, invited a few of the neighbors to join him and to go in quest of the enemy, but they would not be persuaded, whereupon he applied

himself to Maj. Prather for a detachment of the militia, either to go with a party of his men in pursuit of the savages, or garrison his fort while he made an excursion. We hope there will be no backwardness in the militia to comply with such a reasonable request, especially as any party or person that shall take an enemy prisoner will be rewarded with six pounds currency, and the person who will kill an enemy, with four pounds, provided he can produce witnesses, or the enemy's scalp, in testimony of such action.

The whole country to the west was in a condition of terror. Indian raids were constantly occurring, small parties attacking the settlers whenever their unprotected condition made it possible. Even the severity of winter did not serve to lessen the danger. In a resumé of the operations of the French Governor-General Vaudreuil writes:

"A detachment commanded by M. de Niverville came, after a campaign of thirty-three days, within reach of Fort Cumberland, and though it was impossible for him to approach it, in consequence of the dread our Indians had of being surrounded, there being considerable snow on the ground, he nevertheless, took four prisoners in the settlements bordering on the river called Potŏmak, in Virginia, about fifteen leagues from Fort Cumberland; burned ten houses and the like number of barns full of wheat; killed twenty horses or cows. This trifling success ought to show the enemy that the severest season of the year does not protect them against our incursions."[98]

With the opening of the year 1756 the attacks became more frequent. Captain Dagworthy still occupied Fort Cumberland, but the territory around it was almost deserted. In March, the commander at Fort Duquesne sent a small force of Indians under Ensign Douville with orders to "make it his business to harass their convoys and

[98] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Ser., Vol. VI., p. 422.

endeavor to burn their magazines at Canagiechuie [Conococheague] if possible."[99] Commenting on this order, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, on April 7, "I have ordered the party there to be made as strong as time and our present circumstances will afford, for fear they should attempt to execute the orders of Dumas."[100] On the 16th Washington wrote:

All my ideal hopes of raising a number of men to scour the adjacent mountains have vanished into nothing. Yesterday was the appointed time for a general rendezvous of all, who were willing to accompany me for that desirable end, and only fifteen appeared. . . . I have done everything in my power to quiet the minds of the inhabitants by detaching all the men I have any command over to the places more exposed. There also have been large detachments from Fort Cumberland in pursuit of the enemy these ten days past, yet nothing, I fear will prevent the people from abandoning their dwellings and flying with the utmost precipitation.[101]

Again, on the 22d, he says:

The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease.[102]

The *Maryland Gazette* of March 11 contains the following letter from Isaac Baker, dated at Conococheague:

My last was of the 26th instant. On our march to Toonaloways, about five miles this side Stoddert's Fort, we found John Meyers' house in flames, and nine or ten head of large cattle

[99] Ibid., p. 361.
[100] Ford, "The Writings of George Washington," Vol. I., p. 238.
[101] Sparks's Washington, Vol. II., p. 138.
[102] Ford's Washington, Vol. I., p. 250.

killed. About three miles and a half farther up the road we found a man (one Hynes) killed and scalped, with one arm cut off and several arrows sticking in him; we could not bury him, having no tools with us for that purpose. Half a mile farther (within a mile of Stoddert's Fort) we found Ralph Watson's house burnt down, and several hogs and sheep killed. When we came to Stoddert's Fort we found them all under arms, expecting every minute to be attacked. From thence we went to Combe's Fort, where we found a young man about twenty-two years of age killed and scalped; there were only four men in this fort, two of which were unable to bear arms, but upwards of forty women and children, who were in a very poor situation, being afraid to go out of the fort, even for a drink of water. The house caught fire during the time the Indians were surrounding the fort, and would have been burnt down, but luckily there was some soapsuds in the house, by which they were extinguished. The young man mentioned above was one Lynn's son, and was sitting on the fence of the stockyard with Combe's son, when they discovered the Indians, upon which they ran to get into the fort, and before they reached it Lynn's son was shot down, and an Indian pursued the other man with a tomahawk within thirty yards of the fort, but he luckily got into the fort and shot the Indian. We searched the woods to see if we could see where the Indian was buried (as they supposed him to be mortally wounded). We found in two places great quantity of blood, but could not find the body. We saw several creatures shot, some dead, and others going around with arrows sticking in them. About half a mile on this side Mr. Kenney's (in Little Toonaloways) we found a load of oats and a load of turnips in the road, which two boys were bringing to Combe's, and it is imagined the boys are carried off by the Indians. When we came to Mr. Kenney's we saw several sheep and cattle killed. From thence we went to one Lowther's, about two miles farther, where we found his grain and two calves burnt, two cows and nine or ten hogs killed, and about fifty yards from the house found Lowther dead and scalped, and otherwise terribly

FORT FREDERICK AS IT IS TO-DAY.

mangled; his brains were beat out, as it is supposed, with his own gun barrel, which we found sticking in his skull, and his gun broken; there was an axe, two scythes, and several arrows sticking in him. From here we returned to Combe's and buried the young man, and left ten of our men here to assist them to secure their grain, which soon as they have done they purpose to leave that fort and go to Stoddert's, from hence we went to Stoddert's Fort, where we laid on Friday night and yesterday. On our way down here we buried the man we left on the road.

The two houses of the legislature continued their wrangling over appropriating money to carry on the war, the lower house insisting that the estates of the Proprietor should bear their share of the taxes, while the upper house and the governor refused to consent to this, and the result was that nothing was done. The settlers became exasperated at this do-nothing policy, and finally a body of armed men assembled at Frederick, under the leadership of Col. Thomas Cresap, and threatened that unless the legislature ceased wrangling and made some effort to provide for the defense of the province, they would march to Annapolis and compel action A bill was then passed appropriating forty thousand pounds. Of this amount eleven thousand pounds were to be used in building a fort and several block-houses on the western frontier, and for levying, arming, paying and maintaining a body of troops, not exceeding two hundred men, to garrison these posts. As Fort Cumberland was too far to the westward to afford much protection to the settlers Governor Sharpe determined to build another fort nearer the frontier, and in 1756 Fort Frederick was erected, concerning which more will be said later.

All through the summer of 1756 the Indians raids continued, many of the settlers being killed and others carried

off prisoners. On August 29, Washington wrote to Lord Fairfax:

"It is with infinite concern, that I see the distresses of the people, and hear their complaints, without being able to afford them relief. I have so often troubled your Honor for aid from the militia, that I am almost ashamed to repeat my demands; nor should mention them again, did I not think it absolutely necessary at this time to save the most valuable and flourishing part of this county from immediate desertion. And how soon the remainder part, as well as the adjacent counties, may share the same fate, is but too obvious to reason, and to your Lordship's good sense, for me to demonstrate. The whole settlement of Conococheague in Maryland is fled, and there now remain only two families from thence to Fredericktown which is several miles below the Blue Ridge. By which means we are quite exposed and have no better security on that side, than the Potomac River, for many miles below the Shenandoah; and how great a security that is to us, may easily be discerned, when we consider, with what facility the enemy have passed and repassed it already. That the Maryland settlements are all abandoned is certainly a fact, as I have had the accounts transmitted to me by several hands, and confirmed yesterday by Henry Brinker, who left Monocacy the day before, and also affirms, that three hundred and fifty wagons had passed that place to avoid the enemy, within the space of three days."[103]

Ten days later he wrote to Gov. Dinwiddie that the frontiers of Maryland were abandoned for many miles below the Blue Ridge, as far as Frederick.

Wherever it was possible the settlers raised companies of rangers for their protection. At Conococheague a subscription was raised and a company of twenty men, under Lieutenant Teagard, was equipped. "Their services were soon required," says Scharf,[104] "for on August 18th

[103] Ford's Washington, Vol. I., p. 329.

[104] History of Western Maryland, Vol. I., p. 97.

the enemy plundered the settlers near Baker's Ridge, and on the 20th attacked a funeral train, killing two persons, George Hicks and Lodovick Claymour. They were followed by a party of thirteen of Teagard's men, under Luke Thompson, until they came within two miles of the mouth of the Conococheague, on the Pennsylvania road, when five shots were heard about three hundred yards in advance, which threw the pursuing party into some confusion; but Matthias Nicholls, a young man of eighteen, insisted that they should run up and come upon the enemy while their pieces were unloaded, and set off immediately. The others, however, ran off, but he continued the pursuit, and rescued William Postlewaite, who had been seriously wounded by the Indians."

That the French looked with equanimity on the outrages committed by the Indians is shown by a letter written to his brother by the Rev. Claude Godfroy Cocquard, in which he says:

"You will learn, first, that our Indians have waged the most cruel war against the English; that they continued it throughout the spring and are still so exasperated as to be beyond control; Georgia, Carolina, Marrelande, Pensilvania, are wholly laid waste. The farmers have been forced to quit their abodes and to retire into the town. They have neither ploughed nor planted, and on their complaining of the circumstance to the Governor of Boston, he answered them that people were ploughing and planting for them in Canada. The Indians do not make any prisoners; they kill all they meet, men, women and children. Every day they have some in the kettle, and after having abused the women and maidens, they slaughter or burn them."[105]

Up to this time the war had been allowed to drag along in a desultory sort of way, no really active operations being

[105] Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VI., p. 409.

undertaken, but in 1758 William Pitt became prime minister and he determined that a very different sort of campaign should be started. There had been great difficulty in securing enough troops to carry on the war, and in 1756 the British government decided to enlist a regiment made up of the foreign settlers in the British possessions in America, principally Germans. In order that those who enlisted in this regiment might have over them officers who were able to speak their own language, an act of parliament was passed authorizing the king to grant commissions to a certain number of German, Swiss and Dutch officers This regiment, when formed, was known as the Sixty-second, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, and was made up almost entirely of Germans from Maryland and Pennsylvania. Later it was changed to be the Sixtieth Regiment, and is in existence today. The first battalion of the regiment was placed under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet,[106] a native of Switzerland who had settled in Pennsylvania. This battalion was made up of Germans from Pennsylvania and Maryland.

At the beginning of the year 1758 plans were made for an expedition against Fort Duquesne, under the command of General John Forbes. The troops under his command numbered between six and seven thousand and consisted of provincials from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, some Highlanders and the Royal Americans. The expedition started from Philadelphia the latter part of June, the Maryland troops, with those from Virginia and North Carolina, assembling at Winchester, Va., under Colonel George Washington. Colonel Bouquet reached Raystown, now Bedford, Pa., early in July but

[106] H. A. Rattermann in "Deutscher Pionier," Vol. X., p. 217, says that Bouquet's real name was Strauss.

the main body of troops did not arrive until September. The details of this expedition cannot be entered into here, but there was one engagement in which the Maryland troops played a conspicuous part At the earnest solicitation of Major James Grant, of the Highlanders, Colonel Bouquet allowed the former to make a reconnoissance in order, if possible, to discover the position of the enemy at Fort Duquesne This expedition started on September 9, and consisted of thirty-seven officers and 805 privates, among whom were eighty-one Marylanders. With the usual disregard shown by the British officers of the Indian methods of warfare, Major Grant allowed his force to be led into an ambuscade, and on the 14th he was attacked by the French and Indians with disastrous results, 270 of his men being killed and 42 wounded. As usual under such circumstances, the British troops became demoralized under the Indian method of attack, but the Marylanders conducted themselves gallantly. As one account of the affair gives it, "the Carolinians, Marylanders, and Lower Countrymen, concealing themselves behind trees and the bushes, made a good defence; but were overpowered by numbers, and not being supported, were obliged to follow the rest."[107] Of the Maryland force of eighty-one men, twenty-seven privates and one officer, Lieutenant Duncan McRae, were killed.

The French, knowing that Colonel Bouquet's troops were only the advance guard, determined to attack them before the arrival of the main body, and on October 12 a force of 1,200 French and 200 Indians attacked Bouquet's camp at Loyalhanna. After several hours of hard fighting the enemy was repulsed. In this attack the Marylanders had three men killed, Lieutenant Prather and two

[107] Penna. Archives, Second Series, Vol. VI., p. 455.

privates, six privates were wounded and eleven were missing. General Forbes did not reach Loyalhanna until November. Numerous skirmishes followed, but the French realizing that they could not hold Fort Duquesne, set fire to it and abandoned it The English pushed forward, and on November 25, 1758, took possession of the ruins of Fort Duquesne, which was rebuilt and named Fort Pitt.

With the abandonment of Fort Duquesne by the French the troubles of the settlers of western Maryland were greatly modified, although there were occasional raids by bands of hostile Indians until the end of the war, in 1763. With the end of the war the settlers began to return to their deserted homes and advance further toward the west. Seeing this, Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, determined to prevent it and drive the English from the western frontier. With this end in view he secretly traveled from tribe to tribe and formed an alliance, and without any warning the blow fell upon the unsuspecting settlers. The savages planned to attack the settlers during harvest and destroy their crops and cattle and kill the men This plan was put into execution in June, 1763. Bands of raiding Indians spread over western Maryland, killing the settlers and destroying their property. Describing the condition of affairs at this time, in a letter to Robert Stewart, dated August 13, 1763, Washington wrote:

"Another tempest has arisen upon our frontiers, and the alarm spread wider than ever. In short, the inhabitants are so apprehensive of danger, that no families remain above the Conococheague road, and many are gone from below it. The harvests are, in a manner lost, and the distresses of the settlements are evident and manifold."[108]

[108] Sparks' Washington, Vol. II., p. 339.

The condition of the settlers at this time is well shown in a letter in the *Maryland Gazette,* written at Frederick, under date of July 19, 1763, which says:

Every day, for some time past, has offered the melancholy scene of poor distressed families driving downwards through this town with their effects, who have deserted their plantations for fear of falling into the cruel hands of our savage enemies, now daily seen in the woods. And never was panic more general or forcible than that of the back inhabitants, whose terrors at this time exceed what followed on the defeat of Gen. Braddock, when the frontiers lay open to the incursions of both French and Indians. While Conococheague settlement stands firm we shall think ourselves in some sort of security from their insults here. But should the inhabitants there give way, you would soon see your city and the lower counties crowded with objects of compassion, as the flight would in that case become general. Numbers of those who have betaken themselves to the fort, as well as those who have actually fled, have entirely lost their crops, or turned in their own cattle and hogs to devour the produce, in hopes of finding them again in better condition should it hereafter appear safe for them to return. The season has been remarkably fine, and the harvest in general afforded the most promising appearance of plenty and goodness that has been known for many years. But alas! how dismal an alteration of the prospect! Many who expected to have sold and supplied the necessities of others now want for themselves, and see their warmest hopes defeated, the fruits of their honest industry snatched from them by the merciless attack of these blood-thirsty barbarians, whose treatment of such unhappy wretches as fall into their hands is accompanied with circumstances of infernal fury, too horrid and shocking for human nature to dwell upon even in imagination. We were so sensible of the importance of Conococheague settlement, both as a bulwark and supply to this neighborhood, that on repeated notice of their growing distress Capt. Butler, on Wednesday last, called the town company

together, who appeared under arms on the court-house green with great unanimity. Just as the drum beat to arms we had the agreeable satisfaction of seeing a wagon sent up by his excellency (whose tender care for the security of the province raised sentiments of the highest gratitude in the breast of every one present) loaded with powder and lead,—articles of the greatest importance at this critical juncture, when the whole country had been drained of those necessary articles by the diligence of our Indian traders, who had bought up the whole for the supply of our enemies, to be returned, as we have dearly experienced, in death and desolation among us. A subscription was then set on foot and cheerfully entered into, in consequence of which twenty stout young men immediately enlisted under Mr. Peter Grosh to march immediately to the assistance of the back inhabitants, and with other volunteers already there raised, to cover the reapers, in hopes of securing the crops. Had not the Governor's supply arrived so reasonably it was doubted whether the whole town could have furnished ammunition sufficient for that small party, half of which marched backwards in high spirits on Thursday, and the remainder on Friday morning. And on Sunday subscriptions were taken in the several congregations in town for sending up further assistance. On Sunday afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Michael Cresap arrive in town with mokosins on his legs, taken from an Indian whom he had killed and scalped, being one of those who had shot down Mr. Wilder, the circumstances of whose much-lamented murder and the success of Col. Cresap's family you no doubt have received from other hands. Money has been cheerfully contributed in our town towards the support of the men to be added to Col. Cresap's present force, as we look upon the preservation of the Old Town to be of great importance to us, and a proper check to the progress of the savages; but notwithstanding our present efforts to keep the enemy at a distance, and thereby shelter the whole province, our inhabitants are poor, our men dispersed, and without a detachment from below it is to be feared we must give way, and the inundation break upon the lower counties.

The Indian depredations continuing, early in 1764 two expeditions were planned, one under Colonel Bradstreet, against the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas and other nations near the great lakes; the other, under Colonel Bouquet, against the Delawares, Shawnese, Mingoes, Mohickans, and other nations between the Ohio and the lakes. Colonel Bouquet's force was made up of part of the Forty-second and Sixtieth Regiments, some troops from Pennsylvania, and two companies of volunteers from Maryland, riflemen from Frederick county, one commanded by Captain William McClellan, the other by Captain John Wolgamott These two companies were made up as follows:

Captain.

William McClellan.

Lieutenants.

John Earl, James Dougherty.

Ensigns.

David Blair, John Moran,
Edmund Moran.

Sergeants.

Joseph Hopewell, Henry Graybill.

Privates.

David Shelby, James Ross,
George Rout, Isaac Flora,
William Beadles, Richard Coomore,
John Dean, William Sparks,
Richard Arsheraft, Thomas Clemens,
Nicholas Carpenter, John Sealon,
Thomas Vaughan, John Doughland,

Patrick O'Gullen,
Robert Ford,
Joseph Clemens,
James Small,
Joshua Young,
George Mathison,
Isaac Wilcocks,
William Hanniel,
John Dougherty,
William Colvin,
William Flora,
Thomas Edington,
James Bradmore,
William Lockhead,
James Ware,
Thomas Williams,
John Masters,
John Murray,
Felix Leer,
Bartholomew Pack,
Charles Hays,
William Polk.

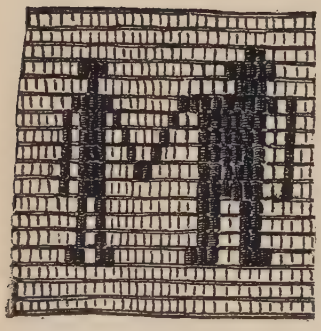
Captain.
John Wolgamott.
Lieutenant.
Matthew Nicholas.
Ensign.
John Blair.
Privates.

James Booth,
James Dulany,
William Fife,
William Dunwidie,
Peter Ford,
Thomas Davis,
David Johnson,
Samuel McCord,
Robert Blackburn,
Abraham Enocks,
James Myers,
William Marshal,
James Fox.

The Indians did not make any resistance, but sued for peace, and thus ended, for the time being, the Indian troubles which for years had made the western frontiers of Maryland the scene of terror and bloodshed.

CHAPTER XIII.

Fort Frederick.



WHEN the first settlement was made by the Ohio Company, about the middle of the eighteenth century, upon the land they had obtained under their grant, in accordance with the terms of that grant a minor fortification was built at the junction of Will's Creek with the Potomac river, for the purpose of affording protection to the settlers. At this time that section of territory was supposed to be in the colony of Virginia. After the defeat at Great Meadows, Washington retreated to Will's Creek, and while he went back to Virgnia to report to Governor Dinwiddie, he left his force in charge of Colonel Innes, who commanded several companies of North Carolina troops. Acting under instructions from the Virginia government, during the autumn of 1754 Colonel Innes constructed a fort at this point, which

he called Fort Mount Pleasant. This fort was little more than a blockhouse, and a series of stockades. About the close of the year Governor Dinwiddie received instructions from England to build a fort at Will's Creek of such dimensions and character of construction as the importance of the position seemed to require. These instructions were transmitted to Colonel Innes, who proceeded to build the fort. The men engaged in its construction were three companies from North Carolina, under Colonel Innes, two companies from New York, one from South Carolina and one from Maryland. When it was completed it was named, at the request of General Braddock, Fort Cumberland, in honor of the commander-in-chief of the British army. This fort was under the jurisdiction of the Virginia government. For some time it was the sole protection for the western frontier of Maryland against the hostile Indians. The Maryland settlement did not extend beyond the mouth of the Conococheague creek, in what is now Washington county, and this left a wide extent of territory, about sixty miles, which was without protection.

After the defeat of Braddock the Indian raids became more frequent and a number of blockhouses were built between Fort Cumberland and the western frontier to which the settlers could flee upon the raising of an alarm. These, however, had but little effect in preventing the raids or in affording protection to the settlers. As Judge Stockbridge says, "a period of terror and desolation ensued. The borders of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia became one extended field of petty battles, murder und devastation. The outposts were driven in, and some of the smaller posts captured and their garrisons massacred; and Frederick, Winchester and Carlisle became the frontiers of the colonies. Fort Cumberland was still held by the troops under Captain Dagworthy, but this isolated

fortress could afford no protection against roving bands of savages who passed around it to seek their prey in the settlements beyond. The panic spread by the flying British troops spread even to the bay shore. Many of the inhabitants of the interior fled to Baltimore, and there preparations were made by the citizens to embark their women and children on board the vessels in the harbor preparatory to a flight to Virginia, while some of the Virginians even believed that there was no safety short of England itself."[109]

The need of further defenses was evident and Governor Sharpe did all in his power to procure the means of securing them, but the assembly was slow in meeting the need of the hour. Finally, in response to the appeals of the Governor and the urgent demands of the people, on March 22, 1756, a bill was passed appropriating forty thousand pounds for the defense of the colony, of which eleven thousand pounds were to be used for the erection of a fort and several blockhouses on the western frontier, and for the levying, arming, paying and maintaining a body of troops to garrison these posts. Governor Sharpe at once proceeded to put into execution the plans he had formulated. He purchased from Peter and Jacob Cloine a tract of land consisting of about one hundred and forty acres, in Frederick county, near where Hancock, Washington county, now stands. The deed for the land is dated August 19, 1756, but Sharpe was so anxious to provide defenses that he secured possession of the land and began the erection of the fort before the deed was executed. On August 21, 1756, he wrote to Lord Baltimore:

As I apprehended that the French would e'er long teach their Indian Allies to approach & set fire to our Stoccado or Wooden

[109] "American Historical Register," Vol. II., p. 748.

Forts I thought proper to build Fort Frederick of Stone, which steps I believe even our Assembly now approve of tho I hear some of them sometime since intimated to their Constituents that a Stoccado would have been sufficient & that to build a Fort with Stone would put the Country to a great & unnecessary Expence, but whatever their Sentiments may be with respect to that matter I am convinced that I have done for the best & that my Conduct therein will be approved by any Soldier & every impartial person. The Fort is not finished but the Garrison are well covered & will with a little Assistance compleat it at their leisure. Our Barracks are made for the Reception & Accommodation of 200 Men but on Occasion there will be room for twice that number. It is situated on North Mountain near Potowmack River, about 14 miles beyond Conegocheigh and four on this Side of Licking creek. I have made a purchase in the Governor's Name for the use of the Country of 150 Acres of Land that is contiguous to it, which will be of great Service to the Garrison & as well as the Fort be found of great use in case of future Expeditions to the Westward for it is so situated that Potowmack will be always navigable thence almost to Fort Cumberland, and the Flatts or Shallows of that River lying between Fort Frederick and Conegocheigh. It is probable this Fortification will cost the Province £2000, but I am told that one is raising at Winchester in Virg[a] that will not be built for less than four times that Sum, and when finished will not be half so good.[110]

This structure was named Fort Frederick in honor of the proprietor, Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore. Some confusion has arisen from the fact that there were two structures known as Fort Frederick. During the Revolution the general assembly of Maryland, in 1777, passed an act providing that there should be erected "in or near Fredericktown in Frederick County, a number of fit, convenient and proper barracks of plain brick or stone work,

[110] Archives of Maryland, Vol. VI., p. 466.

with a block house at each corner and ditched and palisaded in, sufficient for the reception of two battalions, with officers." Schultz says: "There is ground for the belief, however, that there was a stockade fort, or something of that character, on or near their site at the time of the French and Indian Wars, similar to those erected by the early settlers near the present Clearspring and Williamsport, to which the women and children retreated when the Indians became troublesome."[111]

Fort Frederick was built on a hill about one hundred feet above the level of the Potomac and about one-third of a mile from the river. From its position it commanded the surrounding country. Describing its construction, Scharf says:

"The old fort occupied an acre and a half of ground, and its massive walls of hard magnesian limestone are four feet thick at the bottom, and two feet at the top. The stone, which is mostly in large, irregular blocks, was brought from the mountain three miles distant, and is laid in such excellent mortar that nothing but an earthquake or the hand of man will ever shatter the walls. These are seventeen and a half feet in height at the highest point, and are very fairly preserved. The greatest damage that has been done was the cutting of a wagon-gate through the west curtain sixty years ago, and now Nathan Williams, its present owner, has pulled down the west bastion to make room for his barn. The fort is square, with a bastion at each angle. The south bastion is the best preserved, but the whole structure is very far from being a ruin. The portal was twelve feet wide, and the immensity of the gates may be judged by the fact that one of the iron hinges, which Williams kept until a few years ago, weighed forty-two pounds. There is not a piece of the old wood-work left, some curiosity-seekers having carried off the last bit in 1858. Gen. Kenly's First Maryland Regiment occupied the fort in 1861, and

[111] "First Settlements of Germans in Maryland," p. 56.

knocked a hole in the wall through which to point a gun for taking pot shots at the Confederates across the Potomac. The original armament of the fort was a gun in each bastion, worked *en barbette,* and within the enclosure were the barracks."[112]

But Governor Sharpe's troubles over the building of Fort Frederick were far from being ended. His original estimate of the cost of building the structure fell far short of the actual cost, and he was compelled to ask the assembly for more money with which to complete it. Then, too, the cost of maintaining the garrison and paying the troops was no small item. The residents of the eastern section of the colony, at a distance from the scene of the Indian raids, did not realize just what they meant, and could not see why so much money was required for the protection of the western settlers. Their idea was to keep down the expenditures as much as possible, so that there were constant disputes between the executive and the assembly on the question of providing means to carry on the war. On December 15, 1757, the House of Delegates made the following address on the subject of Fort Frederick:

"Near the sum of £6000 has been expended in purchasing the ground belonging to and constructing Fort Frederick, and though we have not any exact information what sum may still be wanting to complete it (if ever it should be thought proper to be done), yet we are afraid the sum requisite for that purpose must be considerable, and we are apprehensive that the fort is so large that, in case of attack, it cannot be defended without a number of men larger than the province can support, purely to maintain a fortification."

On June 9, 1758, Governor Sharpe wrote to General Forbes,[113] giving a detailed account of the trouble over

[112] History of Western Maryland, Vol. II., p. 1298.
[113] Archives of Maryland, Vol. IX., p. 198.

the payment of the troops. Lord Loudoun had proposed that Maryland should raise and support five hundred men to garrison Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, but instead of agreeing to this proposal the assembly included in the bill which they passed a provision which prohibited the Maryland troops from garrisoning Fort Cumberland, or at all events, giving fair warning that if these troops did go to Fort Cumberland they would not be paid by the province of Maryland. Fuel was added to the flames of the dispute by Virginia turning over Fort Cumberland to Maryland. When the Virginia troops retired from the fort it was necessary for their place to be taken by Marylanders, but the Maryland assembly absolutely refused to agree to this. However, Governor Sharpe took the matter into his own hands and sent Captain Dagworthy with one hundred and fifty of his men from Fort Frederick, to garrison Fort Cumberland. As the assembly would not authorize the enlistment of more troops, Governor Sharpe called for volunteers and his call was promptly answered by the settlers of Frederick county, so that Fort Frederick was soon garrisoned by a force of two hundred and fifty hardy pioneers, under Captain Alexander Beall. As the assembly refused to appropriate money to pay and maintain the garrison, the cost had to be met by private subscriptions. Writing to Sir John St. Clair, on March 27, 1758, Governor Sharpe says:

I am obliged to you for encouraging General Forbes to entertain a favourable opinion of me & of my Desires to forward the Service, but I am much afraid that it will not be in my power to confirm it. In short, I cannot promise him any men from this Province unless He or General Abercromby will engage to pay them & I have taken the Liberty to tell him as much in the Letter I have now sent. It is well Capt Dagworthy & the Rest of our

Officers taught their men to live without Victuals last Summer; otherwise they may not have found it so easy a matter to keep them together 6 months without pay in the Winter. How much longer they will be contented to serve on this Footing I cannot tell, but lest Accidents should happen I hope some other Troops will be ordered to Fort Cumberland as soon as possible.[114]

The difficulty about the payment of the troops was partially overcome by taking some of them into the king's service, and on one occasion General Forbes advanced sufficient money to pay them something, although he said that he could not undertake to take care of the arrearage.

The road between Fort Frederick and Fort Cumberland was a rough and circuitous one, and several attempts to remedy this were made. Writing to Governor Sharpe from "Conigogegh," on June 13, 1758, Colonel Bouquet says:

As it will be of the greatest benefit to His Majesty's Service, to have a road of communication open from Each of the Provinces to Fort Cumberland I am under the necessity of requesting you to have the straightest Road reconnoitred, leading from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland: Recommanding to those you appoint to mark it out to report the time that 500 men will take to cut it: any Expence you may be at shall be paid by Sir John S^{t} Clair; as he will be the nearest to you. Please to send him the Report of it, that if found practicable he may send Troops to work at it.[115]

Two days later Sharpe directed Captain Evan Shelby to survey a route for a road and make a report as to the cost and the time required to make it, and on the 25th of the same month Captain Shelby reported that "Upon

[114] Archives of Maryland, Vol. IX., p. 164.
[115] Archives of Maryland, Vol. IX., p. 205.

the whole, it is my opinion that a Road might be made between the two Forts which will not be 60 miles in Length & there will be no bad Pinches for Waggons to ascend nor any bad Fords." The road was evidently not constructed at that time, for in the following December the assembly appointed a commission to determine whether a better road could not be built. This commission consisted of Colonel Thomas Cresap, Joseph Chapline, E. Dorsey, Josias Beall, Francis King and Captain Crabb. After investigating the subject the commission reported as follows:

Your committee have made an inquiry into the situation of the present wagon-road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland, and are of the opinion that the distance by that road from one fort to the other is at least eighty miles, and find that the wagons which go from one fort to the other are obliged to pass the river Potowmack twice, and that for one-third of the year they can't pass without boats to set them over the river.

Your committee have also made an inquiry into the condition of the ground where a road may be made most conveniently to go altogether on the north side of the Potowmack, which will not exceed the distance of sixty-two miles, at the expense of £250 current money.

Your committee are of the opinion that a road through Maryland will contribute much to lessen the expense of carrying provisions and warlike stores from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland, and will induce many people to travel and carry on a trade in and through the province, to and from the back country.[116]

This report was accompanied by an itemized account of the distances and the probable cost of building each stretch of the road. This road was eventually built, and, as the commission's report had indicated, did prove of great advantage to the province.

[116] Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," Vol. II., p. 1328.

The erection and occupation of Fort Frederick gave the settlers in that section the protection they needed. The Indians soon learned to avoid the locality of the fort. Writing to Lord Loudoun, on October 12, 1756, Governor Sharpe says: "No Indians have been down among the Inhabitants for a considerable time, nor appeared on this side of Fort Frederick." After the fall of Fort Duquesne and the withdrawal of the French from the Ohio river, the necessity for the continued maintenance of Fort Frederick ceased. Governor Sharpe accordingly leased the property on which it was built to Henry Heinzman, for a rental of thirty pounds yearly. The lease was dated December 25, 1762, and provided that "whereas there is not any garrison or soldiers at the said Fort Frederick, and several persons who live at or near the said fort do, and if not prevented, will continue to make great waste and destruction of the said fort and improvements by burning the plank and other materials,"[117] possession of it was to be given, the Governor reserving the right to enter upon the property and annul the lease at any time when he might need the same for military purposes.

Scarcely had Fort Frederick been turned over to the uses of peace when another war-cloud began to gather on the horizon. The tension between the colonies and the mother-country grew greater and greater, and finally the cords which bound them together were broken and the struggle was on; but still the tide of warfare did not surge near the old fort. Its walls looked down upon peace and quiet, for the German settlers in western Maryland were not slow in going to the defense of the liberties of their adopted country, and many of the fields and plantations in the neighborhood were almost deserted.

[117] Stockbridge in "American Historical Register," Vol. II., p. 754.

During the earlier years of the Revolutionary War the British and Hessian prisoners were confined at various points in Pennsylvania: Reading, Lancaster, York, Bethlehem and Lebanon, but after the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, particularly as there were rumors of an uprising among the prisoners, the War Office decided to transfer some of the prisoners to some point further inland, and Fort Frederick was investigated to determine whether it would be a suitable place for the purpose. On December 16, 1777, the following letter was written to Colonel Moses Rawlins:

> As you are about returning home by way of Fort Frederick in Maryland, the Board of War request you will take a view of the situation of that place and represent the state you find it in immediately. As it is proposed to send a number of prisoners of war thither, you will examine it with a view to this design. You will see how many men it is capable of holding, what repairs are wanting, how soon those repairs can be made, whether workmen can be procured in this vicinity to do the work, and whether materials are within reasonable distance. You will also report how many men you think it will be necessary to employ as guards for the number of prisoners the place is capable of receiving, and every other matter which shall occur to you as necessary for the information of the Board.

Colonel Rawlins reported that the fort could easily be put in condition for the confinement of the prisoners, and the Maryland assembly directed that the necessary repairs be made. The assembly also provided for a guard for the prisoners. During part of the time this guard consisted of Captain John Kershner's company. On July 27, 1778, this company was made up as follows:

Captain.

John Kershner.

Lieutenants.

Jno. McLaughlin, Peter Backer.

Ensign.

Wm. Conrod.

Sergeants.

Luke Sholly, David Wolgamot,
Martain Phipher, George Fanglar.

Corporals.

Jacob Craver, Peter Conn,
Jacob Barnt, John Conn.

Drum and Fife.

John Oster, Peter Lighter.

Privates.

Michael Hartly, Christiain Kirgery,
George Stuart, James Flack,
George Hudson, George May,
Jno. Shriber, Chris. Shock,
Elias Reeter, Jno. Robinson,
George Carter, Jacob Geerhert,
Abraham Bower, David Fosney,
Martain Harry (or Narry), Richd. Menson,
Andrew Miller, Peter Oster,
Peter Haflegh (Hoeflich), Thos. McCullim,
Fredk. Craft, Casper Snider,
Henry Tyce, Peter Rough,
Goodhert Tressel, Adam Sydey,

Jacob Binkler,
Abraham Troxal, Jr.,
Jacob Ridenour,
Peter Adams,
Abraham Leedy,
Jno. Gable,
Michael Kernam,
Danl. Kemmer,
Adam Coon,
Jacob Adams,
Jno. Fiche,
Mathw. Williams,
Wm. Allin,
Abraham Feeter,
John Augusteen,
Jacob Rorer,
Peter Sybert,
Michl. Spesser,
Fredk. Deefhem (or Deefherr),
Fredk. Shackler,
Phillip Criegh,
David Wirley,
Christiain Nockey (or Hockey),
Jacob Tysher.

A number of prisoners from various points in Pennsylvania were transferred to Fort Frederick. At first some of the prisoners were allowed to work for the neighboring farmers, but it was found that this plan had disadvantages and in the autumn of 1778 the Board of War directed Colonel Rawlins to "call in all the prisoners in the neighborhood of your post or its dependencies and, as the practice of letting them out to farmers and suffering them to go at large is attended with great mischiefs, you will in future keep them in close confinement."

After the surrender of Cornwallis a large number of the prisoners taken at that time were sent to Fort Frederick.

In September, 1791, by direction of the Legislature of Maryland, Fort Frederick was sold to Robert Johnson, of Frederick county, for three hundred and seventy-five pounds, ten shillings, since which time it has belonged to a number of different people. For a short time during the Civil War the fort was occupied by some of General Kenly's command.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Pre-Revolutionary Period.

WITH the end of Pontiac's war and the signing of the treaty between England and France peace and quiet returned to the western part of Maryland, and the settlers returned to their deserted homes. Many of them, however, were in almost a destitute condition. Not only had their crops been destroyed and their domestic animals driven off or killed, but, in many cases, all their buildings with their contents had been burned. Then, too, many of them had fallen in arrears in the payment of their rents, so that their situation was deplorable. Their poverty was emphasized by the fact that there were constant demands upon them for fees and taxes. The British government, at the close of the French and Indian

War, found itself staggering under an immense debt, and as it had been incurred in a war in America, although the underlying principles which led to it had their foundations at home, it was speciously assumed that the colonies should defray the expenses of the war, and steps were taken to bring this about.

In March, 1765, the Stamp Act was passed. This provided that all bills, bonds, leases, notes, ships' papers, insurance policies, and legal documents, to be valid in the courts, must be written on stamped paper. The passage of this act was instantly resented by the colonists, and nowhere were the indignation and determination to resist the enforcement of the law more pronounced than among the German settlers in western Maryland. Indeed, the first open stand against the use of the stamped paper and the determination to transact business without the use of stamps was made in Frederick county, which at that time included the whole of western Maryland.

Zachariah Hood, a native of Maryland, and a merchant of Annapolis, who was in England at the time, was appointed stamp distributor for the province of Maryland. So intense was the feeling of the inhabitants of Maryland that when Hood returned with the stamps and a cargo of goods he was not allowed to land. Knowing that the open threats of the people to burn the stamps if they were brought on shore would be carried out, the authorities deemed it advisable that no opportunity should be given for such proceedings, and the stamps were kept on board ship and finally taken to Virginia, where they could be held under the protection of a British ship of war. In the meantime business of all kinds was held up. There were many legal papers which could not be issued except on stamped paper, and there were no stamps in the colony.

Indignation meetings were held everywhere and resolutions were passed condemning the passage of the Stamp Act and refusing to use the stamps, and in many places Zachariah Hood, the stamp distributor, was burned in effigy. The matter was brought to a head in Frederick county. At a meeting of the Frederick county court, on November 18, 1765, Judges Joseph Smith, David Lynn, Charles Jones, Samuel Beall, Joseph Beall, Peter Bainbridge, Thomas Price, Andrew Hugh, William Blair, William Luckett, James Dickson and Thomas Beatty being present, the following order was made:

Upon application of Michael Ashford Dowden, bail of James Veach, at the suit of a certain Stephen West to surrender said James Veach in discharge of himself, which the court ordered to be done, and an entry of the surrender to be made accordingly, which John Darnall, Clerk of the Court, refused to make, and having also refused to issue any process out of his office, or to make the necessary entries of the Court proceedings, alleging that he conceives there is an Act of Parliament imposing stamp duties on all legal proceedings, and therefore that he cannot safely proceed in exercising his office without proper stamps,

It is the unanimous resolution and opinion of this Court that all the business thereof shall and ought to be transacted in the usual and accustomed manner, without any inconvenience or delay to be occasioned from the want of Stamped Paper, Parchment, or Vellum, and that all proceedings shall be valid and effectual without the use of Stamps, and they enjoin and order all Sheriffs, Clerks, Counsellors, Attorneys, and all officers of the Court to proceed in their several avocations as usual, which Resolution and Opinion are grounded on the following and other reasons:

1st. It is conceived that there has not been a legal publication yet made of any Act of Parliament whatever imposing a Stamp Duty on the Colonies. Therefore this Court are of opinion that until the existence of such an Act is properly notified, it would be

culpable in them to permit or suffer a total stagnation of business, which must inevitably be productive of innumerable injuries to individuals, and have a tendency to subvert all principles of civil government,

2d. As no Stamps are yet arrived in this Province, and the inhabitants have no means of procuring any, this Court are of opinion that it would be an injustice of the most wanton oppression to deprive any person of a legal remedy for the recovery of his property for omitting that which it is impossible to perform.[118]

The clerk of the court, to protect himself, refused to comply with this order, whereupon the Court ordered

That John Darnall, clerk of this Court, be committed to the custody of the sheriff of this county for a contempt of the authority of this court, he having refused to comply with the foregoing order of this Court relative to the execution of his office in issuing processes and making the necessary entries of the Court's proceedings; and that he stands committed for the above offense until he comply with the above mentioned order.[119]

On the issuance of this order the clerk submitted to the order of the court, paid the costs and was discharged. This was the beginning of the overthrow of the Stamp Act, and on November 30 a celebration in honor of the decision of the court was held at Frederick. The *Maryland Gazette* of December 16, 1765, gives an extended account of this celebration, which is quoted by Scharf.[120] The action taken in Frederick county was followed in other parts of the province, so that so far as Maryland was concerned the Stamp Act was absolutely disregarded. The law was repealed on March 18, 1766.

The next year, however, a law was passed imposing

[118] Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," Vol. I., p. 122.

[119] Ibid.

[120] History of Western Maryland, Vol. I., p. 122.

duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colors, and tea imported into the colonies. The passage of this act quickly revived the opposition of the colonists, and associations were formed to oppose the collection of the taxes, the members pledging themselves to non-importation. These pledges were generally strictly adhered to, although occasionally some merchant, seeing a chance to make a good profit, violated the conditions of the agreement. But the punishment for such actions was swift and sure, and the instances of it were rare. "In October, 1769, a number of wagons of contraband goods, valued at three hundred pounds, were shipped from Pennsylvania to Frederick, and not being accompanied with the proper certificates, they were stored at the risk and cost of the owners."[121]

Meetings to protest against the imposition of these taxes were held in all the counties. The *Maryland Gazette* gives an account of a meeting held in Frederick county on August 28, 1770. The place of meeting was a school house, near Troxell's mill, on Tom's creek. Among those present were William Blair, James Shields, Sr., William Shields, Charles Robinson, Patrick Haney, Robert Brown, Henry Hockersmith, William Elder, son of Guy, Samuel Westfall, Moses Kennedy, Alexander Stewart, William Curran, Jr., Charles Carroll, William Koontz, Christian Hoover, John Smith, Daniel McLean, John Faires, John Long, Arthur Row, John Crabs, Moses Ambrose, George Kelly, Walter Dulany, Thomas J. Bowie, James Park, Robert Agnew, John Corrick, Frederick Troxell, Rudolf Nead, Octavius S. Taney, George Ovelman, Dominick Bradley, Thomas Hughes, Philip Weller, Jacob Valentine, William Brawner, Thomas Martin, Daniel Morrison, William Munroe, and

[121] Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," Vol. I., p. 124.

Henry Brook. At this meeting the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, by the inhabitants of Tom's Creek, Frederick County, in the province of Maryland, loyal to their king and country that we reaffirm the great Magna Charta of our Civil and Religious Rights, as granted by Charles of England to Lord Baltimore and the inhabitants of this colony, as reaffirmed on the first landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of Maryland, that there shall be a perfect freedom of conscience, and every person be allowed to enjoy his religious and political privileges and immunities unmolested.

The opposition of the colonists to the imposition of these taxes and the adoption of a policy of non-importation were so general that the British government found it impossible to enforce the law, and with the exception of the tax on tea it was allowed to fall into abeyance. With the destruction of the cargo of tea in Boston harbor and the subsequent passage of the Boston Port Bill, in 1774, the indignation of the colonists and their determination to oppose the oppressive measures of the British government became so intense that the majority of the people were ready to follow any one who would take a determined stand against the unpopular measures. At that period the majority of the population of Maryland lived in the western part of the province, within the limits of what was then Frederick county, and of these by far the greater number were the Germans who had come down from Pennsylvania, and their descendants. These people had abondoned their homes across the ocean and had come to America to escape from just such oppression, and it was but natural, therefore, that they should quickly resent any attempts of the British government to enforce what appeared to be unjust laws, particularly in the matter of taxation. The inhabitants of Frederick county, therefore, generally took the

lead in proposing measures for the relief of the people. Their action following the passage of the Boston Port Bill was prompt. On June 11, 1774, the inhabitants of the lower part of Frederick county held a largely attended meeting at the tavern of Charles Hungerford. They elected Henry Griffith moderator and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America.

Resolved, unanimously, That every legal and constitutional measure ought to be used by all America for procuring a repeal of the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston.

Resolved, unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the most effectual means for the securing American freedom will be to break off all commerce with Great Britain and the West Indies until the said act be repealed, and the right of taxation given up on permanent principles.

Resolved, unanimously, That Mr. Henry Griffith, Dr. Thomas Sprigg Wootton, Nathan Magruder, Evan Thomas, Richard Brooke, Richard Thomas, Zadok Magruder, Dr. William Baker, Thomas Cramphin, Jr., and Allen Bowie be a committee to attend the general committee at Annapolis, and of correspondence for the lower part of Frederick county, and that any six of them shall have power to receive and communicate intelligence to and from their neighboring committees.

Resolved, unanimously, That a copy of these our sentiments be immediately transmitted to Annapolis, and inserted in the *Maryland Gazette.* Signed per order,

ARCHIBALD ORME, *Clerk.*[122]

Nine days later, on June 20, a meeting was held in the court house at Frederick, at which John Hanson presided, and the following resolutions were adopted:

[122] Force's "American Archives," Series IV., Vol. I., p. 403.

I. *Resolved,* That it is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is the duty of every colony in America to unite in the most effectual means to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston.

II. That it is the opinion of a great majority of this meeting that if the colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all imports from, and exports to, Great Britain and the West Indies till the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston, as well as every other act oppressive to American liberty, be repealed, the same may be the means of preserving to America her rights, liberties and privileges.

III. That, therefore, this meeting will join in an association with the several counties in this province and the principal colonies in America to put a stop to all exports to, and imports from, Great Britain and the West Indies, shipped after the 25th day of July next, or such other day as may be agreed on, until the said acts shall be repealed, and that such association shall be upon oath.

IV. That we, the inhabitants of Frederick county, will not deal or have any connections with that colony, province, or town which shall decline or refuse to come into similar resolutions with a majority of the colonies.

V. That no suit shall be commenced after the stop shall be put to imports and exports for the recovery of any debt due to any person whatsoever, unless the debtor be about to abscond, or being appealed to shall refuse to give bond and security.

VI. That Messrs. John Hanson, Thomas Price, George Scott, Benjamin Dulany, George Murdock, Philip Thomas, Alexander C. Hanson, Baker Johnson, and Andrew Scott be a committee to attend the general congress at Annapolis, and that those gentlemen, together with Messrs. John Cary, Christopher Edelen, Conrad Groth, Thomas Schley, Peter Hoffman, and Archibald Boyd, be a committee of correspondence to receive and answer letters, and in any emergency to call a general meeting, and that any six shall have power to act.

Ordered, that these resolves be immediately sent to Annapolis, that they may be printed in the *Maryland Gazette.*

Signed per order,

ARCHIBALD BOYD, *Cl. Com.*[123]

The inhabitants of the upper part of Frederick county met at Elizabeth-Town, now Hagerstown, on July 2. The *Maryland Gazette* gives the following account of this meeting:

On Saturday, the 2d of July, 1774, about eight hundred of the principal inhabitants of the upper part of Frederick County, Md., assembled at Elizabeth Town, and being deeply impressed with a sense of the danger to which their natural and constitutional rights and privileges were exposed by the arbitrary measures of the British Parliament, do think it their duty to declare publicly their sentiments on so interesting a subject, and to enter into such Resolutions as may be the means of preferring their freedom. After choosing John Stull, Esq., their Moderator, the following resolves were unanimously entered into:

I. That the Act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of the Town of Boston is a dangerous invasion of American liberty, and that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause, and ought to be assisted by the other Colonies.

II. That the stopping all commercial intercourse with Great Britain will be the most effectual means for fixing our Liberties on the footing we desire.

III. That a general congress of Delegates from the several colonies to effect a uniform plan of conduct for all America is highly necessary, and that we will strictly adhere to any measure that may be adopted by them for the preservation of our Liberties.

IV. That the surest means for continuing a people free and happy is the disusing all luxuries, and depending only on their own fields and flocks for the comfortable necessaries of Life.

[123] Force's "American Archives," Series IV., Vol. I., p. 433.

V. That they will not, after this day, drink any Tea, nor suffer the same to be used in their Families, until the Act for laying duty thereon be repealed.

VI. That they will not, after this day, kill any sheep under three years old.

VII. That they will immediately prepare for manufacturing their own clothing.

VIII. That they will immediately open a subscription for the relief of their suffering Brethren in Boston.

After choosing John Stull, Samuel Hughes, Jonathan Hager, Conrad Hogmire, Henry Snebley, Richard Davis, John Swan, Charles Swearingen, Thomas Brooke, William McGlury, and Elie Williams as a committee, they proceeded to show their disapprobation of Lord North's Conduct with regard to America by Hanging and burning his Effigy, after which a subscription was opened for the relief of the Poor of Boston. In consequence of the Fifth Resolve, a number of mercantile Gentlemen solemnly declared that they would send off all the Tea they had on hand and that they would not purchase any more until the Act laying a duty thereon be repealed, among which number was a certain John Parks.

A great deal has been written concerning the "Boston Tea-party," but there were tea-parties in other parts of the colonies which, while they may not have been so spectacular as the one at Boston, were just as effective in the results obtained. As McSherry says "Long before the destruction of tea in Boston harbor by disguised men the patriots of Maryland calmly, openly, and in the presence of the governor and the provincial officers discussed and set at defiance this obnoxious act and prevented its execution."[124] The most spectacular occurrence of this kind in Maryland was the destruction of the brig *Peggy Stewart.* In October, 1774, that vessel arrived at Annapolis having among its

[124] "History of Maryland," revised ed., p. 136.

cargo several packages of tea consigned to Thomas Williams & Co. The vessel was owned by Anthony Stewart, who paid the duty on the tea. As soon as this became known a public meeting was called at which the greatest indignation was expressed. The merchants who received the tea were present at the meeting and publicly apologized for having done so and agreed to burn the tea. But this did not entirely satisfy the people, who openly made threats against the vessel and its owner. Mr. Stewart, in order to quiet the people, offered to destroy the vessel himself. This proposition was accepted and Mr. Stewart, accompanied by the merchants to whom the tea was consigned, went aboard the *Peggy Stewart,* ran her aground at Windmill Point, and set fire to her in the presence of a great crowd of people.

In the account given above of the meeting at Elizabeth-Town "a certain John Parks" is mentioned. It seems that Parks did not abide by the agreement not to buy any more tea, and when it was discovered that he had a chest of tea in his possession he was summoned before the Committee. He admitted the fact and agreed to deliver the tea to the Committee. The *Maryland Gazette* of December 22, 1774, gives the following account of the subsequent proceedings in this case:

> The committee for the upper part of Frederick county, Maryland, having met at Elizabeth Town, on the 26th of November, which was the day appointed for the delivery of John Park's chest of tea, in consequence of his agreement published in the Maryland Journal of the 16th ult. After a demand was made of the same, Mr. Parks offered a chest of tea, found on a certain Andrew Gibson's plantation, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, by the committee for that place, which tea he declared was the same he promised to deliver.

The committee are sorry to say that they have great reason to believe, and indeed with almost a certainty, that the said chest of tea was in Cumberland county at the time Parks said upon oath it was at Christen Bridge.

After mature deliberation, the Committee were of opinion, that Parks should go with his hat off, and lighted torches in his hands, and set fire to the tea, which he accordingly did, and the same was consumed to ashes, amongst the acclamations of a numerous body of people. The Committee were also of opinion that no further intercourse should be had with the said Parks. Every friend to liberty is requested to pay due attention to the same.

Voted, the thanks of this committee to that of Cumberland county, for their prudent and spirited behaviour upon this occasion.

Signed by order of the committee,

JOHN STULL, *President.*

N. B. The populace thought the measures adopted by the committee were inadequate to the transgression, and satisfied themselves by breaking his door and windows.[125]

On November 18, 1774, a meeting of the qualified voters of Frederick county was held at the court house in Frederick and the following gentlemen were named to represent the county, and to carry into execution the association agreed upon by the Continental Congress: Charles Beatty, Henry Griffith, Thomas Sprigg Wooton, Jacob Hunk, Nath. Magruder, Richard Thomas, Evan Thomas, Richard Brooke, Zadock Magruder, William Baker, Thomas Cramphin, Jr., John Murdock, Thomas Jones, Allen Bowie, Jr., William Deakins, Jr., Bernard O'Neal, Brook Beall, Edward Burgess, Charles G. Griffith, Henry Griffith, Jr., Wm. Bayley, Jr., Samuel W. Magruder, Nath. Offutt, Archibald Orm, Joseph Threlkeld, Walter Smith, Thos. Beall of George, Richard Crab, William

[125] Force's "American Archives," Fourth Series, Vol. I., p. 1009; Ridgely's "Annals of Annapolis," p. 164.

Luckett, William Luckett, Jr., Greenbury Griffith, Samuel Griffith, John Hanson, Thomas Price, Thomas Bowles, Conrad Grosh, Thomas Schley, Jonathan Wilson, Francis Deakins, Casper Schaaf, Peter Hoffman, George Scott, Baker Johnson, Philip Thomas, Alexander C. Hanson, Archibald Boyd, Arthur Nelson, Andrew Scott, George Stricker, Adam Fisher, Wm. Ludwick, Weltner Van Swearengen, William J. Beall, Jacob Young, Peter Grosh, Æneas Campbell, Elias Bruner, Frederick Kemp, John Haas, John Romsburg, Thomas Hawkins, Upton Sheredine, John Lawrence, Basil Dorsey, Charles Warfield, Ephraim Howard, Joseph Wells, David Moore, Joseph Wood, Norman Bruce, William Blair, David Schriver, Roger Johnson, Henry Cock, Robert Wood, William Albaugh, Jacob Mathias, Henry Crawle, Jacob Ambrose, David Richards, William Winchester, Philip Fishburn, William Hobbs, Thomas Cresap, Thomas Warren, Thos. Humphreys, Richard Davis, Jr., Charles Clinton, James Prather, George Brent, James Johnson, James Smith, Joseph Chapline, John Stull, Samuel Beall, Jr., William Baird, Joseph Sprigg, Christian Orendorf, Jonathan Hager, Conrad Hogmire, Charles Swearengen, Henry Snavely, Richard Davis, Samuel Hughes, Joseph Perry, John Jugerhorn, Joseph Smith, Thomas Hog, Thomas Prather, William McClary, John Swan, Eli Williams, Stophall Burkett, and Thomas Brooke.[126] Any five of them had power to act.

At the same time the following were named as a Committee of Correspondence: Charles Beatty, Thos. Sprigg Wooton, John Hanson, Thomas Bowles, Casper Shaaf, Thomas Price, Baker Johnson, Philip Thomas, George Murdock, Alexander C. Hanson, Thomas Cramphin, Jr., William Bayley, Jr., Evan Thomas, Richard Brooke,

[126] Force's "American Archives," Fouth Series, Vol. I., p. 986.

Thomas Johns, Walter Smith, William Deakins, John Murdock, Bernard O'Neal, John Stull, Samuel Beall, Jr., James Smith, Joseph Chapline, Joseph Sprigg, Charles Swearengen, Rich. Davis, Jonathan Hager, and Joseph Perry.

The following were also elected to attend the Provincial Convention: Charles Beatty, Henry Griffith, Thos. Sprigg Wooton, Jacob Funk, Evan Thomas, Richard Brooke, Upton Sheredine, Baker Johnson, Thomas Price, Joseph Chapline, and James Smith.

The Provincial Convention, which met on December 8, adopted resolutions recommending that the inhabitants of the province, from sixteen to fifty years of age, form themselves into companies of sixty-eight men, and elect a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, and a drummer for each company, and to use their utmost endeavors to make themselves masters of military exercise. It was also recommended that each man be provided with a good firelock and bayonet fixed thereon, half a pound of powder, two pounds of lead, and a cartouch-box or powder-horn, and a bag for ball, and be in readiness to act in any emergency.

When they had made up their minds to act, the citizens of Frederick county were fired with enthusiasm, and in order that all the necessary precautions might be taken another meeting of the citizens of the county was called to be held at the court house on Tuesday, January 24, 1775. At this meeting John Hanson was made chairman, and Archibald Boyd, secretary. The association and resolves of the American Congress and the proceedings of the last Provincial Convention were read and unanimously approved, and the following resolutions adopted:[127]

[127] Force's "American Archives," Fourth Series, Vol. I., p. 1173.

I. *Resolved,* That Messrs. Charles Beatty, Henry Griffith, Thomas Sprigg Wooton, Jacob Funk, and Nathan Magruder, Richard Brooke, Zadock Magruder, William Baker, Thomas Cramphin, Jr., Alexander Bowie, Jr., William Deakins, Jr., John Murdock, Thomas Johns, Bernard O'Neal, Brooke Beall, Edward Burgess, Charles G. Griffith, Henry Griffith, Jr., William Bayley, Jr., Samuel Magruder, Nathaniel Offutt, Archibald Orme, Joseph Threlkeld, Walter Smith, Thomas Beall of George, Richard Crabb, William Luckett, William Luckett, Jr., Greenbury Griffith, Samuel Griffith, John Hanson, Thomas Price, Thomas Bowles, Conrad Grosh, Thomas Archley, Jonathan Wilson, Francis Deakins, Casper Schaaff, Peter Hoffman, George Scott, Baker Johnson, Philip Thomas, Alexander C. Hanson, Archibald Boyd, Arthur Nelson, Andrew Scott, George Stricker, Adam Fisher, Wm. Ludwick, Weltner Van Swearengen, Wm. M. Beall, Jacob Young, Peter Grosh, Æneas Campbell, Elias Brunner, Frederick Kemp, John Haas, John Remsburg, Thomas Hawkins, Upton Sheredine, Basil Dorsey, John Lawrence, Charles Warfield, Ephraim Howard, Joseph Wells, David Moore, Joseph Wood, Norman Bruce, William Blair, David Schriver, Roger Johnson, Henry Cock, Robert Wood, William Albaugh, Jacob Mathias, Henry Crawle, Jacob Ambrose, David Richards, William Winchester, Philip Fishburn, William Hobbs, Thomas Cresap, Thomas Warren, Thomas Humphreys, Richard Davis, Jr., Charles Clinton, James Prather, George Bent, James Johnson, James Smith, Joseph Chapline, John Stull, Samuel Beall, Jr., William Baird, Joseph Sprigg, Christian Orendorff, Jonathan Hager, Conrad Hogmire, Charles Swearingen, Henry Snavely, Richard Davis, Samuel Hughes, Joseph Perry, Joseph Smith, Thomas Hog, Thomas Prather, William McClary, John Swan, Eli Williams, Christopher Burkett, Thomas Brooke, Michael Raymer, Nicholas Tice, John Adlum, Samuel Norwood, Bartholomew Booth, Jacob Boyer, Michael Jacob Miller, Andrew Bruce, John Darnall, John Remsburg, William Dorran, John Key, John Beall, John McCallister, Charles Beall, Lewis Kemp, John Stoner, Thomas Beatty, Thomas

Gilbert, Abraham Hoff, P. Henry Thomas, Jacob Good, Westel Ridgely, Samuel Carrick, Abraham Hosteter, Baltzer Kelcholumer, Samuel Emmet, John Cary, Christopher Edelin, Amos Riggs, John Grimber, Leonard Smith, Nicholas Hower, Richard Northcraft, John Herriot, Richard Smith, Zacharias Ellis, Azel Waters, Martin Cassil, James Johnson, George Bare, Benjamin Johnson, and Abraham Paw be a committee of observation, with full powers to prevent any infraction of the said institution, and to carry the resolves of the American Congress and of the Provincial Convention into execution; that any seventy-five of those gentlemen have power to act for the county, and any five in each of the larger districts be authorized to act in any manner that concerns such Division only.

II. *Resolved,* That the gentlemen appointed at the last meeting of this County a committee of Correspondence be hereby continued, and that the duration of their authority be limited to the second Tuesday in October next.

III. *Resolved,* As the most convenient and effectual method of raising the sum of $1,333, being this County's proportion of the $10,000 which the provincial convention has appointed to be raised for the purchase of arms and ammunition, that a subscription be immediately opened in every part of the County, and the following gentlemen be appointed to promote such subscriptions in their several Hundreds:

For Salisbury Hundred, Jonathan Hager, Henry Snavely and Jacob Sellers.

For Upper Catoclin, Peter Bainbridge, Benjamin Eastburn, Caspar Smith, and Thomas Johnson.

For the Lower part of New Foundland, Edward Burgess, Walter Beall, Joseph Perry.

For Skipton, Thomas Cresap, Moses Rawlings, and Richard Davis, Jr.

For Georgetown, William Deakins, Thomas Johns, Walter Smith.

For Sharpsburg, Joseph Chapline and Christian Orendorf.

For Lower part of Potomack Hundred, William Bayley, Samuel Wade Magruder, Andrew Hugh, and Charles Jones.

For Tom's Creek Hundred, William Blair, William Sheales, and Benjamin Ogle.

For Catoclin Hundred, George Stricker, William Luckett, Jr., and Westel Ridgely.

For Upper Antietam Hundred, Jacob Funk, Conrad Hogmire, Joseph Perry, John Ingram.

For Linton Hundred, Martin Johnson, and Joseph Flint.

For Cumberland Hundred, Charles Clinton.

For Middle Monocacy, Thomas Beatty, Mathias Ringer, Christopher Stull, and T. Flemming.

For Rock Creek Hundred, Thomas Cramphin, Zadock Magruder, W. Baker, and Allen Bowie.

For Sugar Loaf Hundred, Francis Deakins, R. Smith, L. Plummer, Z. Waters, and Z. Linthicum.

For Burnt Woods Hundred, Ephraim Howard, Charles Warfield, David Moore, John Lawrence, Henry Crowle, and William Hobbs.

For Lower Antietam Hundred, Thomas Hog, Henry Butler, and Thomas Cramphin.

For Linganore Hundred, John Beall, Charles G. Griffith, Nicholas Hobbs, Basil Dorsey, and William Duvall.

For Conococheague, David Jones Isaac Baker, and Jacob Friend.

For Piney Creek Hundred, Jacob Good, John McCallister, Samuel McFarren, Abraham Hiter, and John Key.

For Lower Monocacy Hundred, Lewis Kemp, John Darnall, Thomas Nowland, and Leonard Smith.

For Northwest Hundred, Samuel Harwood, Peter Becraft, and Richard Beall, of Samuel.

For Marsh Hundred, Charles Swearingen, Eli Williams, James Smith, Richard Davis, and George Swimley.

For Upper Part of Potomac Hundred, Brooke Beall, Samuel West, Nathaniel Offutt, and Alexander Clagett.

For Seneca, Charles Perry, Richard Crabb, Gerard Briscoe.

For Pipe Creek Hundred, Andrew Bruce, William Winchester, David Schriver, and Nathaniel Norris.

For Manor Hundred, William Beatty, Joseph Wood, Jr., Azel Waters, John Remsburg, Abraham Hoff, and Valentine Creager.

For Upper Part of Monocacy Hundred, Henry Cox, Roger Johnson, Richard Butler.

For Upper Part of New Foundland Hundred, Henry Griffith, Richard Brooke, and Henry Gaither, Sr.

For Elizabeth Hundred, John Stull, Otho Holland Williams, John Swan, and John Rench.

For Fredericktown Hundred, Phil. Thomas, Thomas Price, Baker Johnson, Peter Hoffman, and Ludwick Weltner.

For Fort Frederick Hundred, Ezekiah Cox.

For Sugar Land Hundred, Æneas Campbell, John Fletcher, John Luckett, Alexander Whitaker, and Solomon Simpson.

The said gentlemen are instructed to apply personally, or by Deupty, to every freeman in their respective Districts, and to solicit a generous contribution.

They are ordered to state accounts of money received, and pay it to the Committee of Correspondence, which is hereby appointed to meet at Fredericktown, the 23d day of March next: and they are further ordered to report to the said Committee the names of persons (if any) who shall refuse to subscribe.

IV. That Messrs. Thomas Johnson, William Deakins, Charles Beatty, George Murdock, John Stull, and John Swan, or any one of them, be empowered to contract, in behalf of the Committee of Correspondence, for any quantity of powder and Lead, to be paid for on the said 23d day of March.

V. In order that a committee of observation may be more conveniently chosen, and a more proper representation of the people may be had, the several collectors in each Hundred are desired to give notice to those qualified by their estates to vote for Representatives of some time and place of meeting in the Hundred, to elect members for a Committee, agreeably to the following regulation.

When the number of taxables exceed two hundred, and amounts to not more than four hundred, the District shall elect three members. The Collectors are ordered to return such Representatives to the Committee of Correspondence on the 23d day of March; the Committee so chosen shall then meet, and the authority of the present Committee of Observation shall be dissolved.

VI. *Resolved,* That Messrs. John Hanson, Charles Beatty, Upton Sheredine, Baker Johnson, Philip Thomas, Jacob Funk, Samuell Beall, Joseph Chapline, John Stull, James Smith, Henry Griffith, Thomas Sprigg Wootton, Richard Brooke, William Deakins, and Thomas Cramphine, or any five of them, shall represent this County to any Provincial convention to be held at the city of Annapolis before the second Tuesday of October next. A petition from the People called Dunkers and Mennonists was read. They express a willingness freely to contribute their money in support of the common cause of America, but pray an exemption from the Military Exercise on the score of their Religious Principles.

Resolved, That this petition be referred to the Committee to be chosen agreeably to the fifth Resolve. In the mean time it is strictly enjoined that no violence be offered to the person or property of any one, but that all grounds of complaint be referred to said Committee.

ARCH. BOYD, *Clerk.*

Although making preparations to be ready for any contingency, the German citizens of Maryland were not, as a rule, prepared to go to the length of severing their connection with Great Britain. They considered that their rights had been invaded, but they also thought that this matter could be adjusted by the British government without going to the length of a separation of the colonies from the mother country. In the latter part of 1774 the magistrates of Frederick county adopted the folowing address to their representatives in the Provincial Convention:

Address of the Magistrates of Frederick County, Maryland, to the Honourable Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca and Samuel Chase, Esquires.

We the Subscribers, Magistrates of Frederick County, sensible of the disinterested services you have rendered your county on many occasions, but particularly as Deputies from this Province to the Continental Congress, beg leave to return you our sincere acknowledgements. The whole of the proceedings of that important Assembly are so replete with loyalty to the King; with tenderness to the interest of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain; and above all, reverential regard to the rights and liberties of America, that they cannot fail to endear you to every American, and your memory to their latest posterity.[128]

The magistrates who signed this address were chiefly of English extraction, but at the same time the Grand Jury, made up partly of German citizens, also forwarded an address to the same representatives. In this address, after endorsing the action of the Continental Congress, the Grand Jury goes on to say: "Permit us, gentlemen, to observe, that Councils tampered with such filial loyalty to the Sovereign, such fraternal delicacy for the sufferings of our friends in Great Britain, and at the same, with such unshaken zeal for the preservation of the inestimable privileges derived from our admirable Constitution, cannot fail to give weight and influence to the cause, and must moderate and relax the minds of our most poignant enemies."[129]

But, as Dr. Steiner says, "The 'most poignant enemy' was King George, and when the men of Frederick discovered that fact, all 'filial loyalty' was lost and they girded themselves for the fray."

[128] Force's "American Archives," Series IV., Vol. I., p. 992.

[129] Ibid., p. 993.

CHAPTER XV.

Preparing for the Struggle.

LEXINGTON and Bunker Hill will always be brilliantly illuminted pages in the history of America, and the Minute Men who had the temerity to contest the advance of Major Pitcairn and his regulars, and the farmer boys behind the fence on Breed's Hill who twice drove back the crack Welsh Fusileers, will always be entitled to their due meed of praise. They were the advance guard in the struggle with the mother country, and were steadfast in the hour of need, and are justly honored for the part they played. But after they had begun the contest and others were needed to reinforce them and continue the work, it was the sturdy Germans from the south: from Pennsylvania and Maryland, who hurried to their aid. The first troops from the other provinces to reach Cambridge after the battle of Bunker Hill were the two com-

panies from Frederick county, Maryland, made up largely of Germans. This was but the beginning, and although many of these Germans were opposed to war and had come to this country to escape from the burdens imposed upon them by it, they left their homes and their untilled fields and joined the bands of patriots, prepared to back their desire for the freedom they had been promised with the rifle and bayonet. It is impossible to estimate the full value of their services, but considering the numbers of them who served in the patriot army throughout the war, it can be stated as an incontrovertible fact that without the aid of the Germans from Pennsylvania and Maryland the issue of the Revolutionary War would have been more than doubtful.

The news of the fight at Lexington reached Annapolis on the morning of April 26th, and couriers rapidly carried it to all parts of the colony. The excitement produced by the information that the war had been begun had scarcely begun to subside when news was received of the battle of Bunker Hill, which was fought on June 17, 1775. Three days before the Continental Congress had adopted a resolution providing for a battalion of riflemen, two companies of which were to be raised in Maryland, two in Virginia, and six in Pennsylvania. The two Maryland companies were assigned to Frederick county, and it was ordered that as soon as they were enlisted they were to be marched to Boston. A meeting of the Committee of Observation for Frederick county was held in the court-house at Frederick on June 21, and at this meeting John Hanson, chairman of the Maryland delegation to the Continental Congress, read the resolution adopted by that body just a week before. The committee at once adopted a resolution directing that the two companies of expert riflemen be forth-

with raised and named the following officers for the companies:

First Company.—Michael Cresap, captain; Thomas Warren, Joseph Cresap, Jr., and Richard Davis, Jr., lieutenants.

Second Company.—Thomas Price, captain; Otho Holland Williams and John Ross Key, lieutenants.

These companies were promptly recruited from among the expert riflemen of Frederick county, a large proportion of whom were Germans. Unfortunately the muster rolls of these companies have not been preserved, or at least cannot be found, so that the names of these patriots cannot be given. So prompt was the organization of these companies that by the middle of July they were ready to start on their march to Boston. The appearance of these riflemen and their skill as marksmen attracted attention everywhere. Writing to a friend in Philadelphia, under date of August 1, 1775, a gentleman in Frederick says:[130]

> Notwithstanding the urgency of my business, I have been detained three days in this place by an occurrence truly agreeable. I have had the happiness of seeing Captain Michael Cresap marching at the head of a formidable company of upwards of one hundred and thirty men, from the mountains and backwoods, painted like Indians, armed with tomahawks and rifles, dressed in hunting-shirts and moccasins, and though some of them had travelled near eight hundred miles from the banks of the Ohio, they seemed to walk light and easy, and not with less spirit than at the first hour of their march. Health and vigour, after what they had undergone, declared them to be intimate with hardship and familiar with danger. Joy and satisfaction were visible in the crowd that met them. Had Lord North been present, and been assured that the brave leader could raise thousands of such like to defend his Coun-

[130] Force's "American Archives," Fourth Series, Vol. III., p. 2.

try, what think you, would not the hatchet and block have intruded upon his mind? I had an opportunity of attending the Captain during his stay in Town, and watched the behaviour of his men, and the manner in which he treated them; for it seems that all who go out to war under him do not only pay the most willing obedience to him as their commander, but in every instance of distress look up to him as their friend or father. A great part of his time was spent in listening to and relieving their wants, without any apparent sense of fatigue and trouble. When complaints were before him he determined with kindness and spirit, and on every occasion condescended to please without losing his dignity.

Yesterday the company were supplied with a small quantity of powder from the magazine, which wanted airing, and was not in good order for rifles; in the evening, however, they were drawn out to show the gentlemen of the Town their dexterity at shooting. A clapboard, with a mark the size of a dollar, was put up; they began to fire offhand, and the bystanders were surprised, few shots being made that were not close to or in the paper. When they had shot for a time in this way, some lay on their backs, some on their breasts or side, others ran twenty or thirty steps, firing, appeared to equally certain of the mark. With this performance the company were more than satisfied, when a young man took up the board in his hand, not by the end, but by the side, and holding it up, his brother walked to the distance, and very coolly shot into the white; laying down his rifle, he took the board, and holding it as it was held before, the second brother shot as the former had done. By this exercise I was more astonished than pleased. But will you believe me, when I tell you, that one of the men took the board, and placing it between his legs, stood with his back to the tree while another drove the centre. What would a regular army of considerable strength in the forests of America do with one thousand of these men, who want nothing to preserve their health and courage but water from the spring, with a little parched corn, with what they can easily procure in hunting: and who wrapped in their blankets, in the damp of night, would choose the shade of a tree for their covering, and the earth for their bed.

These two companies of riflemen marched from Frederick on July 18, 1775, and although their journey of 550 miles was over rough and difficult roads, they reached Boston on August 9, without the loss of one man. These troops were the first from the south to reach Cambridge, and they naturally attracted considerable attention. Thatcher says:[131] "Several companies of riflemen, amounting, it is said, to more than fourteen hundred men, have arrived here from Pennsylvania and Maryland; a distance of from five hundred to seven hundred miles. They are remarkably stout and hardy men; many of them exceeding six feet in height. They are dressed in white frocks, or rifle shirts, and round hats. These men are remarkable for the accuracy of their aim; striking a mark with great certainty at two hundred yards' distance. At a review, a company of them, while on a quick advance, fired their balls into objects of seven inches diameter at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. They are now stationed on our lines, and their shot have frequently proved fatal to British officers and soldiers, who expose themselves to view, even at more than double the distance of common musket-shot."

The next year these companies were incorporated in a regiment of riflemen commanded by Colonel Stephenson, of Virginia. Upon his death Moses Rawlings became colonel of the regiment, and Otho Holland Williams, major. Both of these officers were from that part of Frederick county which is now Washington county, Maryland.

Although, as has been said, a large number of the citizens of Maryland were not in favor of a separation from Great Britain, events were moving so rapidly as to compel them to abandon this position. On July 26, 1775, the

[131] "A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War," p. 37.

Provincial Convention determined to take the government of the Province into its hands, and adopted the following declaration:

The long premeditated, and now avowed, design of the British government, to raise a revenue from the property of the colonists without their consent, on the gift, grant, and disposition of the Commons of Great Britain; and the arbitrary and vindictive statutes passed under color of subduing a riot, to subdue by military force and by famine the Massachusetts Bay; the unlimited power assumed by Parliament to alter the charter of that Province and the constitutions of all the colonies, thereby destroying the essential securities of the lives, liberties, and properties of the colonists; the commencement of hostilities by the ministerial forces, and the cruel prosecution of the war against the people of Massachusetts Bay, followed by General Gage's proclamation, declaring almost the whole of the inhabitants of the united colonies, by name or description, rebels and traitors; are sufficient causes to arm a free people in defence of their liberty, and justify resistance, no longer dictated by prudence merely, but by necessity; and leave no other alternative but base submission or manly opposition to uncontrollable tyranny. The Congress chose the latter; and for the express purpose of securing and defending the united colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the above mentioned acts into execution by force of arms, resolved that the said colonies be immediately put into a state of defence, and now supports, at the joint expense, an army to restrain the further violence, and repel the future attacks of a disappointed and exasperated enemy.

We therefore inhabitants of the Province of Maryland, firmly persuaded that it is necessary and justifiable to repel force by force, do approve of the opposition by arms to the British troops employed to enforce obedience to the late acts and statutes of the British Parliament for raising a revenue in America, and altering and changing the charter and constitution of the Massachusetts Bay, and for destroying the essential securities for the lives, liberties, and properties of the subjects in the united colonies. And we do

unite and associate as one band, and firmly and solemnly engage and pledge ourselves to each other, and to America, that we will, to the utmost of our power, promote and support the present opposition, carrying on as well by arms as by the continental association restraining our commerce.

And as in these times of public danger, and until a reconciliation with Great Britain on constitutional principles is effected, (an event we ardently wish may soon take place) the energy of government may be greatly impaired, so that even zeal unrestrained may be productive of anarchy and confusion, we do in like manner unite, associate, and solemnly engage, in maintenance of good order and the public peace, to support the civil power in the due execution of the laws, so far as may be consistent with the present plan of opposition; and to defend with our utmost power all persons from every species of outrage to themselves or their property, and to prevent any punishment from being inflicted on any offenders other than such as shall be adjudged by the civil magistrate, the Continental Congress, our Convention, Council of Safety, or Committees of Observation.

The Maryland delegates to the Continental Congress had been forbidden, except under certain circumstances, to agree to any declaration of independence, but it soon became evident that the sentiment of that body was in favor of such a declaration. Consequently, when a resolution to that effect was introduced the Maryland delegates were recalled and the question was referred to the people so that delegates to the Provincial Convention could be elected and given instructions upon the matter. The people of the various counties held their meetings and elected delegates to the convention and instructed these delegates to repeal the restrictions imposed upon the delegates to Congress and to allow them to unite with those of the other colonies in declaring their independence and the formation of a confederacy. Less than a week before the adoption of the

Declaration of Independence the Maryland Convention rescinded the restrictions placed upon their delegates, so that the latter were able to join in voting for its passage. The Maryland Convention, however, determined to put itself on record, and on July 3, 1776, adopted the following:

A Declaration of the Delegates of Maryland.

To be exempted from Parliamentary taxation, and to regulate their internal government and polity, the people of this colony have ever considered as their inherent and unalienable right; without the former, they can have no property; without the latter, no security for their lives or liberties.

The Parliament of Great Britain has of late claimed an uncontrollable right of binding these colonies in all cases whatsoever; to enforce an unconditional submission to this claim the legislative and executive powers of that State have invariably pursued for these ten years past a steadier system of oppression, by passing many impolitic, severe, and cruel acts for raising a revenue from the colonists; by depriving them in many cases of the trial by jury; by altering the chartered constitution of our colony, and the entire stoppage of the trade of its capital; by cutting off all intercourse between the colonies; by restraining them from fishing on their own coasts; by extending the limits of, and erecting an arbitrary government in the Province of Quebec; by confiscating the property of the colonists taken on the seas, and compelling the crews of their vessels, under the pain of death, to act against their native country and dearest friends; by declaring all seizures, detention, or destruction of the persons or property of the colonists, to be legal and just.

A war unjustly commenced hath been prosecuted against the united colonies with cruelty, outrageous violence, and perfidy; slaves, savages, and foreign mercenaries have been meanly hired to rob a people of their property, liberties and lives; a people guilty of no other crime than deeming the last of no estimation without the secure enjoyment of the former; their humble and dutiful

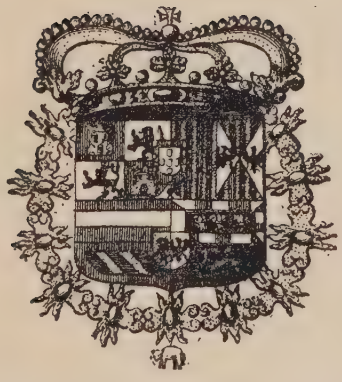
petitions for peace, liberty, and safety have been rejected with scorn; secure of, and relying on foreign aid, not on his national forces, the unrelenting monarch of Britain hath at length avowed, by his answer to the city of London, his determined and inexorable resolution of reducing these colonies to abject slavery.

Compelled by dire necessity, either to surrender our properties, liberties, and lives into the hands of a British King and Parliament, or to use such means as will most probably secure to us and our posterity those invaluable blessings,—

We, the Delegates of Maryland, in Convention assembled, do declare that the King of Great Britain has violated his compact with this people, and they owe no allegiance to him. We have therefore thought it just and necessary to empower our deputies in congress to join with a majority of the united colonies in declaring them free and independent States, in framing such further confederation between them, in making foreign alliances, and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for the preservation of their liberties; provided the sole and exclusive rights of regulating the internal polity and government of this colony be reserved for the people thereof. We have also thought proper to call a new Convention, for the purpose of establishing a government in this colony. No ambitious views, no desire of independence, induced the people of Maryland to form an union with the other colonies. To procure an exemption from parliamentary taxation, and to continue to the legislatures of these colonies the sole and exclusive right of regulating their internal policy, was our original and only motive. To maintain inviolate our liberties and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity, was our duty and first wish; our next, to continue connected with and dependent on, Great Britain. For the truth of these assertions, we appeal to that Almighty Being who is emphatically styled the Searcher of hearts, and from whose omniscence nothing is concealed. Relying on His divine protection and affiance, and trusting to the justice of our cause, we exhort and conjure every virtuous citizen to join cordially in the defence of our common rights, and in maintenance of the freedom of this and her sister colonies.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Flying Camp.



THROUGHOUT the summer of 1775 the citizens of western Maryland, comprising chiefly the German element of the population of the Province, were actively engaged in preparing for the war which they now knew was inevitable. Men enrolled themselves into companies and perfected themselves in military tactics under officers of their own choosing. Four of these companies were officered as follows:

Captain, William Blair.

1st Lieutenant, George Hockersmith.

2d Lieutenant, Henry Williams.

Ensign, Jacob Hockersmith.

Sergeants.

William Curran, Jr. — John Smith,
George Kelly, — Christian Crabbs.

Corporals.

John Crabbs, — Arthur Row,
George Matthews, — James Park.

Drummer, Daniel McLean.

Captain, William Shields.
1st Lieutenant, John Faires. *2d Lieutenant,* Michael Hockersmith.
Ensign, John Shields.

Sergeants.

Charles Robinson, — Patrick Haney,
James Shields, Sr., — Robert Brown.

Corporals.

Moses Kennedy, — John Long,
John Hawk, — Thomas Baird.

Captain, Jacob Ambrose.
1st Lieutenant, Peter Shover. *2d Lieutenant,* Henry Bitzell.
Ensign, John Weller.

Sergeants.

Martin Bartz, — John Gump,
Frederick Schultz, — Casper Young.

Corporals.

John Protzman, — George Kuhn,
Dominick Bradley, — Laurence Creager.
Drummer, John Shaw. — *Fifer,* Philip Weller.

Captain, Benjamin Ogle.
1st Lieutenant, Henry Matthews. *2d Lieutenant,* George Nead.
Ensign, James Ogle.

Sergeants.

John Syphers, Peter Leonard,
Lawrence Protzman, Conrad Matthew.

Corporals.

Jacob Valentine, Adam Knauff,
Daniel Protzman, William Elder.

Drummer, John Roche. *Fifer,* Daniel Linebaugh.

These companies, numbering over 250 men, were attached to one of the battalions raised in Frederick county and performed active service throughout the war.

On the first day of January, 1776, the Convention resolved to immediately put the Province in the best state of defence and to raise an armed force sufficient for this purpose. It was decided that this force should consist of 1,444 men, with the proper officers, and that it should be divided into a battalion of eight companies of sixty-eight men each, with officers, and the remainder of the troops formed into companies of one hundred men each. On January 14 this was changed so that there was to be a battalion of nine companies, seven independent companies, two companies of artillery and one company of marines. The Council of Safety was empowered to order these troops into Virginia, Delaware and Pennsylvania. Officers for the battalion were elected as follows: Colonel, William Smallwood; major, Thomas Price; paymaster, Charles Wallace; clerk to colonel, Christr. Richmond; 1st Surgeon's mate, Dr. Michael Wallace; quarter master, Joseph Marbury; acting adjutant, Jacob Brice. These companies were enlisted chiefly in the eastern section of the Province, and while there were many Germans among the officers and privates there was no grouping of that nationality.

On June 3, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved

"That a flying camp be immediately established in the middle colonies; and that it consist of 10,000 men; to complete which number . . . the colony of Pennsylvania be requested to furnish of their militia 6,000, Maryland of their militia 3,400, Delaware government, of their militia, 600."

On the 21st the Maryland Convention resolved "that this province will furnish 3,405 of its militia, to form a flying camp, and to act with the militia of Pennsylvania and the Delaware government in the middle department." These troops were to serve until the first of the following December.

The organization of the companies for the Flying Camp was promptly undertaken, and no class of citizens was more prompt in enlisting than the German residents of Frederick county. Some of the companies were made up almost entirely of Germans, while in all of them there was a fair proportion of that nationality. Following are the muster rolls of the companies enlisted in Frederick county for the Flying Camp:

LOWER DISTRICT, NOW MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

Captain Edward Burgess' Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Edward Burgess.

1st Lieutenant, Thomas Edmonston.

2d Lieutenant, Alexander Estep.

Ensign, Zephaniah Beall.

Privates.

Nathan Orme,
Richard Weaver Barnes,
Charles Gartrell,
Alexander Lazenby,
Edward Harden,
Miles Mitchell,
Thomas Wood,
Charles Maccubin Reynolds,
Joseph Estep,
John Tuckker,

Zachariah Aldridge,
Samuel Beall White,
Nathan Waters,
Benjamin Fitzjarrald,
Gilbert Bryan,
Nathan Musgrove,
James Burgess,
Benjamin Burgess,
Arthur Legg,
Thomas Freeman,
John Sheekels, or Shukels,
John Ray,
Shadrach Penn, or Peen,
Zephaniah Browning,
George Fryback,
John Hanson Wheeler,
Samuel Wheeler,
Thomas Culver,
Henry Lazenby,
Jeremiah Beall,
John Harding,
Samuel Taylor Orme,
Thomas Wallis,
John Lashyear (Layzare),
Reson Hollon,
Alexcious Simms,
Thomas Nichols,
Laurance Hurdle,
William Crow,
Lenard Wood,
Saml. Carter,
Thomas Beall,
Kinsey Hanee,
Joseph Gartrell,
John Geehan, or Guhan,
Jeremiah Ferrell,
Samuel Purnal,
Thomas Sheekels, or Shukels,
Thomas Gittings,
Archibald Hoskinson,
Alexander Barratt,
Owen Haymon,
Alexander Edmonston Beall,
John Beaden,
Alexander Tucker,
John Wilcoxen,
Richard Burgess,
John Fryback,
Daniel Lewis,
John Ryan,
Benj. Tucker,
Wevour Waters,
Morris Brashears,
Obed Willson,
Stephen Gatrell,
James Beall (of Roger),
John Elwood,
James Carter,
Josiah Harding (Harden),
Henry Clark,
John Nichols,
Alexander Robert Beall,
William Garten,
Solomon Dickerson,
William Young Conn,
Marthew Lodgeade,
Leaven, (Leven) Beall,
John Ferrell,
William Hicke,
Dennis Marhay,

James Hurvey,
Edward Trout,
Samuel Solamon,
William Hopkins,
John Crook,
Samuel Taylor,
William Blackburn,
Richard Nicholsson.

Captain Leonard Deakins' Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Leonard Deakins.

1st Lieutenant, Thomas Nowland. *2d Lieutenant,* Elisha Williams.

Ensign, John Griffith, resigned, Dennis Griffith.

Privates.

Lloyd Beall,
Zachariah Askey,
William Lanham,
Richard O'Daniel,
David Green,
John Taylor,
Thomas Lightfoot,
James McDeed,
Samuel Spycer,
Bartholomew Edelin,
William Draper,
Henry Allison,
Leonard Hagon,
Charles Mahoney,
John Baptis Gauff,
James Gauff,
John Yates,
Jacob Veatch,
William Longley,
Dennis Griffith,
Thomas Stewart,
John Stewart,
William Walker,
James McCulloch,
William Lovet,
Jessee Woodward,
Nathan Wilson,
Robert Wilson,
Edward Jinkings,
William Hays.

Captain Benjamin Spyker's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Benjamin Spyker.

1st Lieutenant, Greenbury Gaither.

2d Lieutenant, Richard Anderson.

Ensign, Nicholas Scybert.

Privates.

Zachariah Rily,
John Gorman,
John McDavid,
Thomas Wise,
William House,
Geor. Sybert (Scybert),

Edward Northcrafft,
Neil Dogherty,
Michael Stanly,
William Carlin,
Peter Hoey (Hoy),
Strutton Hazel,
Henry Burton,
John Smith,
Archibald Trail,
Nathan Green,
John Currington,
William Murphy,
Joseph Crawly,
Edward Goodwin,
Timothy Maclamary,
John Turner,
William Glory,
John Reynolds,
William Hollands,
Allan Mackabee (Mockbee),
Francis Downing,
James Wilson,
Nathan Traill,
James Artis,
Aaron Wood,
John Keemer,
William Leitch,
William Baitson,
Charles Saffle,
Nicholas Gaither,
Lodowick Davis (Davies),
Bennett Herd,
Henry Mackee (Mackey),
Michael Rily (Riley),
Walter Nichols (Nicholl),
Nathan Roberts,
Stephen Harper,
John Cook,
Joseph Ross,
Patrick Murphy,
George Heater,
Dennis Clary,
Thomas Love,
Thomas Knowlar,
Abraham Booker,
Joseph Penny,
John Wilson,
Richard Short,
Thomas Chattell, (Chattle),
John Haymond Nicholls,
Richard Cooke,
Lewis Mullican,
James Pelly,
Eli Smith,
John Collins,
William Lowry,
Osborn West,
Leven Kersey,
William Jerbo,
John Lowry,
John Langton,
John Evans,
Henry Atchison (Hutchingson),
John Madding,
Robert Rickets,
Zachariah Evans,
Benjamin Holland,
Richard Kisby,
Michael Carter,
Thomas Sheppart,

Edward Waker,
Thomas Malloon,
John Gaskin,
Robert Drake,
Patrick Carroll,
William Pack,
John Cavenor (Cavernor),
Philip Hindon,
Stephen Warman,
George Heathman.

Captain Richard Smith's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Richard Smith.

1st Lieutenant, Walter White. *2d Lieutenant,* Thomas Hayes.

Ensign, Thomas Sprigg.

Privates.

Levi Hayes,
Henry Clagett,
John Patrick,
Matthias Henistone,
Andrew Hughes,
Jesse Harris,
William Summers,
Joseph Lewis,
John Davies,
John Smith,
Alexander Read,
Matthew Read,
William Norris, son of Benj^{n},
William Wallace,
Levin Hayes,
John Raynolds,
George Windom,
Peter Night,
William Madden,
Henry Atcheson,
Andrew Keath,
Samuel Queen Windsor,
John Bennett,
John Hinton,
Thomas Fanning,
Ezekiel Harris,
Herbert Alex^{r} Wallace,
Robert Moore,
Henry Kuhnes,
Anthony Murphy,
Jacob Irissler,
William Veal Steuart,
Michael Clancy,
James Long,
Charles Steuart,
James Nolland,
John Gibson,
William Sutton,
John Harriss,
John Fitzgerrald,
John Carroll,
John Burgess,
Jeremiah Leitch,
Denmas Mannan,
Nicholas Rodes,
Zepheniah Wallace,
Nicholas Rodes, Jr.,
William Pruett,

William Johnston,
John Bowen,
Robert Muckleroy,
William Pollard,
Jacob Hesse,
William Preston,
Alexander Mason,
James Jordan,
John Hennes,
Robert Robinson,
Thos. Hays.

MIDDLE DISTRICT, NOW FREDERICK COUNTY.

Captain Philip Maroney's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Philip Maroney.

1st Lieutenant, Elisha Beall. *2d Lieutenant,* John Hellen.

Ensign, William Beatty, Jr.

Privates.

Garah Harding,
William Jacobs,
John McCrery,
Daniel Shehan,
John Churchwell,
George Holliday,
George Hill,
William Gilmour (Gilmore),
Patrick Murphy,
Francis Quynn,
Samuel Wheeler,
John Shank,
James McKinzie,
Thomas Gill,
William Calvert,
John McClary,
William Skaggs,
John Marshall,
Bennett Neall,
John Test,
Thomas Kirk, Jr.,
Ninion Nichols (Nickols),
George McDonald,
James Hutchcraft,
Jacob Holtz,
Henry Smith,
Richard Wells,
Elisha Rhodes,
Paul Boyer,
Samuel Busey,
John Kenneday,
William Chandler,
William Hilton,
Warran Philpot,
Christopher Wheelen,
James Buller,
John Jones,
James Carty,
John Hutchinson,
Luke Barnet,
William Barnitt,
Samuel Silvor,
Edward Salmon,
James McCoy,

William Cash,
James Burton,
Thomas Bayman,
Thomas Hillery,
James Beall (Ball),
John Brease (Breeze),
Patrick Scott,
William McKay (McKoy),
Zadock Griffith,
Henry Meroney,
Henry Clements,
Thomas Fenly (Finley),
James McCormack Beall,
Patrick Connan,
Chas. Philpott Taylor,
James Lowther,
Henry Barkshire,
John Maynard,
James Beckett,
James Tannehill,
John Miller,
James Bryant,
Michael Arran,
Jacob Barrack,
John Donack,
James Kelam,
John Sehom,
Robert McDonald,
Richard Tongue,
Herbert Shoemaker,
John Myer,
Richard Fletcher,
Joseph McAllen,
Thomas Harrison,
John Alsop,
Charles Dullis,
Joshua Pearce,
Jacob Rhodes,
George Kelly,
William Louden,
Christian Smith,
Frederick Beard,
Henry Fisher,
James Hudson,
Michael Hale,
John Rite,
William Byer,
Francis Freeman,
John Cash,
William Hollings,
Jacob Burton.

Captain Jacob Good's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Jacob Good.
1st Lieutenant, John Baptist Thompson.
2d Lieutenant, John Ghiselin.
Ensign, John Smith.
Privates.

Christeen Clisce,
George Obalam,
Henry Brawner,
Patrick Money,

Tobias Hammer,
George Rice,
Philip Fletcher,
Martin Fletcher,
Christeen Gobble,
Adam Keller,
John Dwyre,
John Billow,
John Chamberlin,
William Trace,
Jacob Freeman,
James Collins,
Thomas White,
Charles Freind,
James Estup,
John O'Bryan,
John Wimer,
George Gobble,
Henry Miller,
Ludwick Mober,
Peter Giddy,
Jacob Horine,
Philip Pepple,
Daniel Means,
George Free,
Daniel McTier,
Patric McIntire,
Danl. McIntire,
Danl. Merfey,
Thomas Adams,
John Sill,
Anthony Thomas,
Matthew King,
Joseph McClaine,
David Jones,
John Harrison,
John Money,
Peter Penroad,
James Campbell,
Leonard Macatee,
Thomas Anderson,
Jacob Bearae,
Philip Jacob,
William McClane (McClame),
Peter Havclay,
Philip Cenedy,
Patrick Deneley,
Joseph McCracken,
William Linch,
John Toughman,
Edward Pegman,
John Wart,
Michael Dodson,
Benj. Norris,
George Bonagal,
George Ettleman,
James Vaughan,
Wm. Brown,
Geo. Spunogle,
Peter Weaver,
Saml. Hamilton,
William Price,
Henry Fanslar,
William Boe,
Jacob Martin,
Jonathan McDonall,
Zachariah Ward,
John Slagel,
Danl. Benning,
John Robertson,
George Carroll,
John Henderson,

Fettea Stuffle,
Jacob Ridingour,
George Benter,
Joseph Ray,
John Duncan,
Patrick White,
John Test,
Robert McLeod,
Wm. Drome,
Wm. Brinsford.

Captain Peter Mantz' Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Peter Mantz.

1st Lieutenant, Adam Grosh. *2d Lieutenant,* Peter Adams.

Ensign, John Richardson.

Privates.

William Richardson,
John Shelman,
Andrew Loe,
Henry Bear,
Andrew Wolf,
John Kellar,
John Martin,
Andrew Speak,
Charles Smith,
John Newsanger (Neswangher),
John Gombare, Jr.,
Jacob Bayer,
George Siegfried,
Jacob Stevens,
William Mills,
Mathias Overfelt,
David Eley,
Henry Smith,
Peter Bell,
John Twiner,
John Netsley,
Geo. Mich. Hawk,
John Conrad,
Joseph Pinnall (Pannell),
Frederick Kallenberger,
John Snider,
John Lock,
Saml. Yaulet,
James Adams,
Peter Walts,
Henry Huffman,
Jacob Crapell (Creppell),
Mathew Rudrieck,
Christ. Stanley,
Thomas Stanley,
Chr. Kallenberger,
Jacob Kern,
George Hower,
David Nail,
George Tennaly,
Jonathan Jones,
Frederick Heeter,
Rudolph Morolf,
John Mouer (Mourrer),
John Dutterer,
Martin Heckentom,
Abraham Boucher (Bucher)
Philip Bowman,
George Stoner,
Henry Hulsman,

Valentine Brunner,
John Foster,
Mich. Cramer,
Laurence Myers,
John Bennett,
John Gisinger,
Henry Teener,
John Striser,
Henry Myer,
John Shenk,
John Smith, dyer,
Jos. Williams,
Philip Flack,
John Hendrickson,
Dennis Realley,
Thomas Smith,
Jacob Carnant,
Henry Grose,
George Plummer,
Peter Wagoner,
Thomas Tobiry,
Philip Aulpaugh,
Jacob Shade,
Peter Snowdenge (Snowdeigel),
Henry Berreck,
John Baker,
Daniel Hinds,
George Boyer,
Joseph Shame,
Michael Baugh,
Nicholas Becketh (Beckwith),
Jacob Bowman,
Andrew Ringer.

Captain Vallentine Creager's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Vallentine Creager.
1st Lieutenant, Phillip Smith, Jr.
2d Lieutenant, George Need (Neet).
Ensign, John Parkinson (Pirkinson).

Sergeants.

Solomon Bentley,
Aquilla Carmack,
Josiah Hedges,
Christian Cumber.

Corporals.

John Brattle,
Solomon Rowlins,
Charles Menix,
John Link.

Drummer, Joseph Allsop.
Fifer, Peter Trux (Trucks).

Privates.

Thomas Edison,
Christian Smith,
George Dotts,
Jacob Bostion,
Edward Hossilton,
John Smith,
Laurence Stull,
Samuel Hulse,

Matthias Andess,
John Springer,
Oliver Linsey,
Ludwick Moser (Mouser),
James Silver,
Michael Fox,
George Burrawl (Burrol),
Jacob Barrick (Barrack),
Jonothan Beard,
Christopher Cooper,
Patrick Daugherty (Daugerty),
Jacob Holtzman,
Peter Lickliter,
John Mortt,
William Slick,
Thomas Tumbleson (Tombleson),
Adam Russ,
Jacob Weyant (Wicant),
John Ciferd,
James Cammell (Campbell),
Henry Decamp,
James Buckhannon (Buchanan),
Peter Heveron,
Jacob Rignall (Rignell),
Peter Dick,
Cornelius Downey,
William From,
George Younger,
Lodwick Woller (Wooler),
Daniel Moore,
William Weier,
James Smith,
Joseph Smith,
Thomas Parkinson (Pirkinson),
Henry Fogle,
Henry Fox,
Frederick Hardman,
John Waggoner,
Adam Waggoner,
Adam Simmon (Simon),
George McDonald,
Henry Clice (Clise),
Thomas Nailor (Nalor),
George David,
Henry Reich,
Patrick Dayley,
James Branwood,
Thomas Cook,
Philip Greenwood,
Robert Sellers (Sellors),
John White,
David Barringer,
Patrick Rowin,
George Serjeant,
Evan Morris,
William Preston,
Robert Parson,
John Langley,
Daniel Bryan,
Jacob Ringer.

UPPER DISTRICT, NOW WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Captain Æneas Campbell's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Æneas Campbell.

1st Lieutenant, Clement Hollyday.

2d Lieutenant, John Courts Jones.

Ensign, David Lynn.

Privates.

John Moxley,
Levi Walters,
George Hoskins,
William Frankline,
William Davis,
John Gillam (Gillum),
Henry Beeding (Beading),
Michael Hagan,
Daniel Moxley,
George Gentile (Gentle),
William Dixon,
Mark Chillon,
Martin Kiezer,
Shedereck Locker,
John Steel,
James Williams,
Samuel Lintridge (Lentarage),
Benjamin Osburn (Ozenburn),
William Veatch,
William Lucas (Luckas),
Charles Byrn (Burn),
William Housley (Owsley),
Notley Talbot (Talbort),
John Martin (Martain),
Charles Hoskins,
Barton Lovelass (Charles Loveless),
Grove Tomlin (Tamlane),
William Stallings (Stalion),
Thomas Gillam (Gillum),
John Henry,
Richard Lewis,
Aneas Campbell, Jr., cadet,
James Raidy,
Ignatius Maddox,
William Carroll,
John Snowden Hooke,
Richard Sarjeant, Jr.,
James Weakley,
George Kingston,
John Simpson Aldridge,
Charles Thomas Philpot,
Jeremiah Fulsome,
John Heart,
Edward Cane,
Robert Beall Crafford,
Philip Tracy,
Henry Jones,
Thomas Chappell,
Jacob Mills,
Hezekiah Speake,
Walter Raley (Raleigh),
Zephaniah Mockbee,
John Higdon, Jr.,
William Lewis,
Henry Allison,
Nathan Thompson,
James Glaze,
Archibald Chappell,
Hugh Elder,
Arthur Carns,
William Windham,
Samuel Busey,
Alexander Adams,
Lewis Peak (Speake),
Stephen West,
Thomas Owen,
John Jeans,

John Williams,
John Compton,
Peter Boardy,
William Poland,
Cornelius Harling,
Josh. Harbin,
Charles Lucas (Luckas),
John Ellis,
Stephen Gentile,
Joseph Beeding,
Philip Sulivane,
John Ferrell,
Patrick Rine,
Benjamin Ellit,
William Lamar,
William Thompson,
Stephen West,
William Briggs,
Francis Kitely,
Nathaniel Glaze,
Peter Hardesty,
Thomas Barrett,
Daniel Ferguson,
John Self,
William Oliver,
John White,
Abraham Chapman.

Captain John Reynolds' Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, John Reynolds.
1st Lieutenant, Moses Chapline. *2d Lieutenant,* Christian Orndorff.
Ensign, Nathan Williams.

Privates.

William Walker,
Moses Hobbins,
John Ferguson,
Wm. Bradford, volunteer,
Jacob Hosler,
Thomas Fowler,
John Been,
David Grove,
Thos. Bissett,
Wm. Messersmith,
Wm. Patrick,
Archibald Mullihan,
Edward Pain,
Wm. Coffeeroth,
John Wade,
Thomas Stogdon,
Philip Wyonge,
Allexander Sparrow,
Christian Weirich,
Nicholas Weirich,
Peter Loar,
Jacob Long,
Nicholas Pinkely,
Mathias Wolf,
John Randle,
Michael Edelman,
Joseph Emrich,
Jacob Brunner,
Edward Kerny,
Nathaniel Linder,
Hermon Consella,
Nicholas Hasselback,

Silus Tomkins,
John Class,
John Hurley,
Thomas Pitcher,
Edward Brown,
Henry Coonse,
George Deale,
Benedict Eiginor,
Edward Dumatt,
Daniel Murphey,
Ludowick Kiding,
Christopher Curts (Cortz),
Henry Knave,
Thomas McKoy, D. S. T.
Henry Saftly,
John Berry,
Rinear Bennett,
Francis Thornbourgh,
Peter Seaburn,
Thomas Sands,
James Cunningham,
James Nowles, D. S. T.
Edward Nowles,
Thomas Barrett, D. S. T.
Christian France,
Jacob Weisong,
Joseph Finch,
John Hood,
William Baumgartner,
George Baumgartner,
Teeter Waltenback,
James Thompson,
George Reynolds,
Philip Loar,
Nicholas France,
Thomas Wilkins,
George Flick,
George Bowersmith,
Robert Wells,
John Walker,
Garrett Closson,
Basill Williams,
Simon McClane,
Joseph Carrick,
John Peirce Welsh,
John McKenny,
Benjamin Dye,
Jacob Forsythe,
Edward Gardner, D. S. T.
Joseph Moor,
Laurance Williams,
Bennett Madcalf,
Ephraim Skiles,
John Powell,
Michael Cortz,
Clement Howard,
John Teeter,
Jacob Teeter,
William Fanner,
John Iden,
William Kerney,
John Eove (Cove?)
Jacob Linder,
Rodger Dean,
James Stewart.

Captain Henry Hardman's Company in the Flying Camp.

Captain, Henry Hardman.

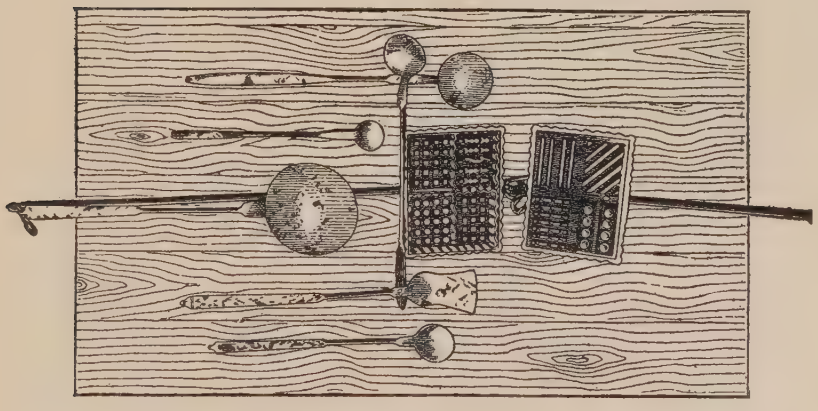
1st Lieutenant, Daniel Stull. *2d Lieutenant,* Peter Contee Hanson, Jona. Morris.

Ensign, John Rench.

Privates.

Chs. White,
Francis Frumantle,
Daniel Matthews,
James Jordon,
George How,
Thomas West,
Jno. Kirk,
Maurice Baker,
Daniel Cline,
Jno. Newman,
Jno. Brown,
Livie Jones,
Thomas Fish,
John Lindsey,
Jno. Troxel,
Jno. Collins,
Thos. Smith,
Chas. Feely,
Abm. Miller,
George Colley,
Jno. Mowen,
Martin Rickenbaugh,
Pat. Ryley,
Robert English,
James Crale,
Jno. Stoner,
Jacob Hirsh,
Jno. Bemhart,
Jno. Grant,
Paul Schley,
Wm. Crale,
James Martin,
Danl. Fisher,
Phil. Flack,
James Green,
Isaac Hardey,
Wm. Casey,
Saml. Smith,
Wm. Wallis,
Thos. Jones,
Danl. Henderson,
John Ward,
George Morrison,
Chr. Hart,
Jno. Welsh,
Jno. Moor,
Jno. Aim,
Jno. Barry,
Stephen Preston,
Rhd. Noise,
Mathias Houks,
Stephen Rutlidge,
William Davis,
Thomas Collins,
William Divers,
Chr. Metts,
Danl. Wicks,
Jno. Dicks,

Thos. Robison,
James Duncan,
Peter Haines,
Phil. Brugh,
Peter Fiegley,
Chr. Neal,
George Fiegley,
Phil. Berener,
Abm. Troxel,
Samuel Sprigg,
Barny Riely,
John Closs,
Peter Digman,
Chn. Berringer,
Thomas McGuyer,
Jacob Storam,
Saml. Richardson,
Conomus Acre,
Daniel Carty,
Rhd. Morgon,
Wm. Campian,
Isaac Barnet,
Chr. Fogely,
Michael Pote,
George Rismel,
Chr. Alinger,
Peter Splise,
Chr. Walker,
John Hager,
Jas Munn.



CHAPTER XVII.

The German Regiment.

THE Continental Congress having considered the question of raising a regiment to be composed entirely of Germans, on June 27, 1776, adopted the following resolution:

That four companies of Germans be raised in Pennsylvania and four companies in Maryland, to compose the said regiment: That it be recommended to the convention, or in their recess, to the council of safety of Maryland, immediately to appoint proper officers for, and direct the inlistment of, the four companies to be raised in that colony.

The Convention of Maryland promptly ratified this action by directing that two companies of Germans be raised in Baltimore county and two in Frederick county. The officers for the German regiment named by Congress

were as follows: Nicholas Haussegger, colonel; George Stricker, lieutenant-colonel; Ludwick Weltner, major. The proceedings of Congress state that "the committee appointed to settle the rank of the captains and subalterns in the German battalion, reported the same as follows, which was agreed to:

"Captains, Daniel Burkhart, Philip Graybill, George Hubley, Henry Fister, Jacob Bonner, George Keeports, Benjamin Weiser, William Heyser, and David Woelpper.

"First-lieutenants, Frederick Rolwagen, John Lora, Peter Boyer, Charles Bulsel, William Rice, Jacob Kotz, Jacob Bower, Samuel Gerock, and Bernard Hubley.

"Second-lieutenants, George Hawbacker, Christian Meyers, John Landenberger, Michael Bayer, George Schaeffer, Adam Smith, Frederick Yeiser, William Ritter, and Philip Schrawder.

"Ensigns, John Weidman, Martin Shugart, Christian Helm, Jacob Crummet, Jacob Cramer, Paul Christman, Christopher Godfrey Swartz, and John Landenberger."

Of the officers of the regiment, Lieutenant-colonel George Stricker and Major Ludwick Weltner were from Frederick county. The Maryland captains were William Heyser, Philip Graybill, Henry Fister and George Keeports. The *Pennsylvania Archives*[132] state that Colonel Haussegger deserted to the British after the battle of Monmouth, but Dr. H. M. M. Richards has shown this to be a mistake. "This is evidently false," says Dr. Richards, "as he returned to his home at Lebanon, where he died in July, 1786. His heirs participated in the donation land-grants, awarded by the State of Pennsylvania to its meritorious and brave officers and soldiers of the Revolution, which would not have been the case were he a

[132] Second Series, Vol. XI., p. 73.

traitor. It is more probable that, on account of his age, he became sick and incapacitated from active duty, and was given a lengthy furlough, which he spent at his Lebanon home."[133]

The *Maryland Archives*[134] give the following as a portion of the roster of the German regiment:

Sergeants.

Jacob Alexander,
John Cole,
Richard Gaul,
Jacob Hose,
John Heron,
Charles Jones,
William Johnson,
Daniel Jacquett,
Jacob Keyser,
Jacob Lowe,
John Ladder,
William Lewis,
Wm. Rummelson,
George Stauffer,
Christr. Stanty,
Frederick Sollers,
John Truck.

Corporals.

Philip Beam,
John Brieger,
John (or Jas.) Burk,
William Croft (Kraft),
Jacob Etter,
Bernard Frey,
Joseph Hook,
John Hochshield,
Patrick Kelly,
John Michael,
Thomas Polhouse,
James Smith,
S. Fredk Shoemaker.

Drummer.

Thomas Hutchcraft,
John Roach (or Rock),
Michael Smith.

Fifer.

John Brown,
Henry Ferrins.

Privates.

Levy Arrings,
James W. L. Ashly,
Daniel Kettle,
Francis Kerns,

[133] "The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War," p. 399.
[134] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XVIII., p. 184 et seq.

John Armstrong,
John Abel,
George Arnold,
Leonard Aberly,
George Bough (or Buck),
Saml. Bauswell,
Peter Backer,
Michael Benner,
Henry Bender (or Painter),
Jacob Bishop,
Jacob Beltzhover,
Danl. Baylor,
John Bower,
Michael Brodbech,
George Bantz,
Conrad Beam,
John Bennett,
Philip Bates,
Michael Bowerd,
Timothy Cahill,
Jacob Caufman,
Benjamin Cole,
George Crothorn,
Owen Curley,
Henry Cronise,
John Croft,
Thomas Clifton,
Michael Cambler (or Gambler),
Christopher Casner,
Rudolph Crower,
Michael Cowley,
Chas. Champness,
Jacob Cromer (or Cramer),
Michael Crush,
John Cline,
James Dyer,
Peter Koons,
Geo. Keephart,
Michael Kershner,
Jacob Kline,
Jacob Kentz,
Jacob Kaufman,
John Lecrose,
Thomas Larmore,
Charles Lago,
George Leithusier,
Fredk. Larantz,
Vendel Lorantz,
Fredk. Locker,
Martin Lantz,
Leonard Ludwick,
Galfried Lawrey,
Henry Michael,
Fredk. Mongaul,
John Miller,
Jacob Miely,
Jacob Miller, Jr.,
Lewis McColough,
William Mummart,
Jacob Miller, Sr.,
Henry Martin,
Wm. Maunsel,
William Nerving,
John Nevitt,
Richd. O'Quin,
Thomas Proctor,
William Pointer,
Robert Porter,
Henry Painter,
William Rider,
Chas. Ronenberger,
Michael Ritmire,

John Dalton,
James Dunkin,
John Dretch,
Godlb. Danruth,
Benja. Elliott,
John Eissell,
Wolfgn. Ellsperger,
Paul Elsing,
John Etnier,
Jas. Ensey,
Peter Engelle (or Angel),
Bartel Engle,
John Fennell,
John Folliott,
Henry Fisher,
Charles Fulham,
Patrick Fleming,
John Franklin,
Jacob Frymiller,
Abram Frantz,
John Fleck,
Philip Fisher,
Fredk. Filler,
David Finch,
James Forney,
Philip Fisher,
Philip Fitzpatrick,
Michael Grosh,
John Grupp,
George Getig,
Francis Gavan,
Edward Gould,
Adam Gantner,
Corns. Grunlin (or Quinlin),
Peter Grice,
Michael Gambler,

Conrad Riely,
Edward Robinson,
Andrew Robinson,
Chs. or Chrisr. Raybert,
Jacob Ruppert,
George Rittlemeyer,
Henry Rumfell,
George Regalman,
Jacob Ricknagle,
John Richards,
Christr. Raver,
Bernard Riely,
John Smitherd,
John Shively,
George Silver,
Christian Smith,
Mathias Smith,
James Slite (or Fite),
John Stanton,
Robert Smith,
Chr. Settlemeyer,
John Smith,
Alexander Sealors,
John Shrayock,
Joseph Slreiter,
John Slife,
John Shotts,
Michael Shoemaker,
Philip Studer,
Philip Smith (or Smithly),
John Smith,
Henry Strome,
John Shark,
Jacob Shutz,
Mathias Shrayer,
Henry Smith,

Richd. Hazelip,
Thos. Halfpenny,
Michael Hartman,
Jno. W. Hammersly
(or Amersly),
F. William Haller,
John Harley,
Joseph Hook,
Henry Herring,
Casimer Hull,
Jacob Haseligh,
Thos. Hazlewood,
Jacob Heffner,
Jonathan Hockett,
Peter Hewer (or Hoover),
Peter Hemerick (or Emerick),
John Hatfield,
Conrad Hile,
Jacob Hoover,
James Hughes,
Conrad Hausman,
Dedrick Haninghouse,
James Johnston,
Peter Kruise,
Philip Kuntz,
John Kibber,
Mathias Keyer (Keiser),
John Kendrick,
John Kline (Cline),
Chresn. Keplinger,
Abram Kettle,
John Shaffer,
John Snider,
Adam Stonebraker,
Adam Shaffer,
Fredk. Switzer,
John Smithly (or Smith),
Henry Statler,
Michael Stoner,
Conrad Stoyle,
William Selwood,
Andrew Selas,
John Timblin,
Fredk. Tawney,
William Taylor,
James Tite,
Henry Wilstock,
John Wade,
Danl. Williams,
John Welty,
Saml. Wright,
John Walker,
Thomas Woolford,
Joseph Williams,
Michael Weaver,
Chrisr. Waggoner,
Ludk. Witsinger,
Jacob Wink,
George Wilhelme,
Jacob Wagoner,
Michael Yakely,
John Zimmerman.

CAPTAIN HENRY FISTER'S COMPANY IN THE GERMAN BATTALION, COMMANDED BY COLONEL NICHOLAS HAUSSEGGER, 1776.

Captain, Henry Fister.

Lieutenants.

Charles Balzel, Michael Bayer.

Ensign, Jacob Grommet.

Sergeants.

John Balzel, Philip Shopper,
Philip Shroop, George Wintz.

Corporals.

George Hoover, Jacob Tudderow,
Fredk. Wilhite, Jacob Low.

Drummer, John Heffner.

Privates.

Henry Delawter, Adam Charles,
Henry Hawk, Abraham Fettie,
Fredk. Mittag, John Imfeld,
Jacob Fantz, George Shrantz,
Peter Copple, Adam Smeltzer,
Jacob Kuntz, John Bird,
John Ridenhour, Gottlieb Klein,
Willm. Snider, Peter Graff,
Adam Froshour, John Ringer,
Christn. Sheafer, Jacob Croumer,
Leonard Everly, Philip Stouder,
John Wachtel, Peter Hoover,
George Studdlemeier, Peter Americk,
Philip Colour, Conrad Houseman,
Valentine Shotter, John Klein,
Henry Ziegler, Henry Hain,
Jacob Tabler, Jacob Kurtz,
Mathias King, John Zimmerman,
Jacob Miller, Henry Smith,
Philip Isingminger, Adam Gentner,

John Leather,
Henry Hilderbrand,
Anthony Miller,
Jacob Farber,
Michael Moser,
Ludwick Visinger,
Jacob Hammer,
Martin Watkins,
Nicholas Frye,
Jacob Weaver,
Jacob Eggman,
John Beckerson,
George Clinton,
Christopher Slender,
Michael Beiker,
Anthony Hamilton,
Jacob Sheafer,
Henry Cronies,
Leonard Ludwick,
John Snider,
Henry Herring,
Peter Kuntz,
Justinius Hogshield,
Edward Robertson,
John Shatz,
Michael Stiener,
John Able,
Michael Shoemaker,
Frederick Henninghouse,
Thomas Polehouse,
Bartle Engle,
John Klein,
John Miller.

PAY ROLL OF CAPT. MICHAEL BAYER'S COMPANY IN THE GERMAN REGIMENT, CONTINENTAL TROOPS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Commanded by Lt. Col. Ludwick Weltner.

For the months of July, August, September and October, 1779.

Capt. Michael Bayer (Boyer),
Corp. ——— Polehouse,
Corp. ——k Shoemaker,
Corp. —rew Robinson,
Corp. John Hoshied,
Corp. John Shotz,
Drum. Thomas Hatchcraft,
Drum. Henry Ferrins.

Privates.

Thomas Mahony,
George Kepphard,
Peter Kuntz,
Abraham Kettle,
John Abel,
Adam Gantner,
Jacob Miller, Sr.,
Jacob Cramer,
Leonard Ludwick,
Michael Shoemaker,
Peter Emerick,
Henry Herring,
Michael Moser,
Henry Cronise,
Phillip Fisher,
John Snider,
John Wachtel,

Henry Fisher,
John Foliott,
Owen Curley,
Charles Fullim,
James Johnson,
——— Wade,
——— Mallady,
Edward Robinson,
Ludwick Wesinger,
Rudolph Marolf,
Jacob Miller, Jr.,
Phillip Strider,
Jacob Riggnagle,
Casemar Hill,
Conrad Houseman,
Michael Stoner,
William Taylor,
John Zimmerman,
John Cline,
Peter Hewer,
Bartle Engle.

MUSTER ROLL OF CAPT. GEO. P. KEEPORT'S COMPY. OF THE FIRST GERMAN BATTALION CONTINENTAL TROOPS.

Commanded by Colonel Nicholas Haussegger.

Philadelphia, Sept. 19, 1776.

George P. Keeports, Capt.,
Saml. Gerock, 1 Lt.,
Willm Ritter, 2 Lt.,
John Lindenberger, Ensign,
Jacob Smith, 1st Serjt.,
Henry Speck, 2nd Serjt.,
John Keener, 3rd Serjt.,
Christn. Kearns, 4th Serjt.,
George Cole, 1st Corpl.,
Fredk. Moppes, 2nd Corpl.,
Ulrich Linkenfetter, 3rd Corpl.,
Philip Bitting, 4th Corpl.,
Benja. England, Drummer.

Privates.

Michael Brubacher,
Michael Grosh,
Michael Dochterman,
Christn. Settlemires,
Peter Kries,
Peter Koefflich (Hoefflich),
John Weller,
Gotfried Loure,
Jacob Wagner,
Peter Bast,
Jacob Stein,
John Schorcht,
George Schesler,
Danl. Fuhrman,
Henry Traut,
Jacob Schütz,
Peter Hahn,
George Miller,
Peter Anckle,
Jacob Wink,
Danl. Boehler,
John Harring,
John Franken,
John Cole,
Adam Schaeffer,
Mathias Schreier,

Adam Markel,
David Streib,
Joseph Carrol,
David Levy,
Willm. Trux,
Jacob Bigler,
Jacob Burk,
Conrad Reitz,
John Brown,
Fredk. Mongoal,
John Bauer,
Conrad Boehm,
John Miller,
John Smith.

ROLL OF CAPT. WILLIAM HEYSER'S COMPANY.

Dated October 23, 1776.

William Heyser, Captain,
Jacob Kortz, 1st Lieut.,
Adam Smith, 2nd Lieut.,
Paul Christman, Ensign.

Sergeants.

David McCorgan (Morgan),
Jacob Hose,
Daniel Jaquet (or Jaques),
Jacob Miller,
George Gittin, Drum,

Corporals.

Andrew Filler,
Philip Reevenach,
Barnard Frey,
William Lewis,
Jacob Gittin, Fife.

Privates.

Peter Sheese,
Henry Stroam,
Adam Stonebreaker,
John Fogle,
Jacob Klien,
George Miller,
Phillip Fisher,
Jonathan Hecket,
Henry Tomm,
Jacob Hoover,
Michael Cambler,
George Harmony,
Thomas Clifton,
Michael Boward,
Henry Wagner,
George Buch,
Stuffle Reever,
George Wise,
John Michael,
John Robertson,
Adam Lieser,
Robt. Hartness,
Henry Benter,
John Armstrong,
Simon Fogler,
Jacob Grass,
Phillip Smithly,
George Wilhelm,
James Duncan,
John Breecher,

John Crafft,
John Shoemaker,
Mathias Gieser,
Mathias Dunkle,
Frederick Filler,
John Kibler,
Stuffle Wagner,
Jacob Heefner,
Conrad Hoyle,
Balsor Fisher,
John Smith,
Michael Weaver,
Jacob Belsoover,
John Rothe,
Wentle Strayly,
John Flick,
John Mettz,
Henry Michael,
George Riggleman,
Nicholas Baird,
John Hottfield,
Jacob Greathouse,
Fredk. Switzer,
Jacob Fowee,
Thomas Burney,
John Itnier,
Phillip Greechbaum,
Jacob Bishop,
Alex. Sailor,
Martin Pifer,
Peter Gittin,
Frances Myers,
Melcher Benter,
Tobias Friend,
Jacob Heefner,
John Smithly,
Everheart Smith,
Godfrey Young,
Frederick Locher,
Michael Yeakly,
James Furnier,
Henry Queer,
Henry Statler,
John Cropp.

Captain Heyser's company, which was enlisted in Washington county, was arranged as follows on May 22, 1777:[135]

William Heyser, Captain,
Jacob Kortz, First Lieut.,
Adam Smith, Second Lieut.,

Sergeants.

David Morgan,
Jacob Hose,
John Jaquet,
Jacob Miller.

Corporals.

Andrew Tiller, discharged by the Surgeon,
Philip Reevenacht,
Bernard Frey,

[135] Richards' "The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War," p. 225.

William Lewis,
John Breecher.

Privates.

Henry Stroam,
Adam Stonebreaker,
John Flick,
Henry Michael,
Philip Fisher,
Jonathan Hacket,
Henry Tomm,
Jacob Hoover,
Michael Camler,
Henry Wagner,
Melchior Benner,
John Fogle,
Francis Myers,
Jacob Kliene,
John Michael,
Simon Fogler,
John Robinson,
Jacob Beltzhoover,
Peter Sheese,
George Harmony,
Michael Bawart,
John Croft,
Frederick Filler,
John Kibler,
John Smith,
Math's Keyser,
Michael Weaver,
Nicholas Beard,
John Hatfield,
Conrad Hoyle,
Christian Reaver,
Adam Lower,
Ph. Greechbaum,
Frederick Locher,
Michael Yockley,
James Fournier,
Henry Quir,
John Cropp,
H'y Statler,
George Gitting,
Thomas Clifton,
George Riggleman,
Thomas Burney,
John Metz,
John Shoemaker,
Tobias Friend,
Adam Leiser,
Jacob Greathouse,
Robert Hartness,
Martin Piffer,
George Miller,
Christopher Wagner,
Mathias Dunkle,
John Roth,
Jacob Piffer,
George Bouch,
Henry Panthar,
Jacob Grass,
George Wilhelm,
George Wise,
Jacob Heffner,
Everhard Smith,
John Armstrong,
Godfried Young,
Peter Gitting, died March 18, 1777,

James Duncan,
John Etnier,
Philip Smithly,
Christian Sides,
Jacob Bishop,
Alexander Saylor,
John Smithley,
Archibald Fleegert,
Wentle Strayley, died January 15, 1777,
Balzer Fisher, died March 15, 1777,
Frederick Switzer.

Scharf[136] gives another arrangement of this company from a roll in the possession of Captain Heyser's descendants.

PAY ROLL OF LT. COL. WELTNER'S COMPANY IN THE GERMAN REGT. OF THE CONTINENTAL FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.
Commanded by Lt. Col. Ludwick Weltner.

July, August, September and October, 1779.

Capt. Philip Shrawder,
Serjt. William Lewis,
Serjt. Jno. Danl. Jacquet,
Serjt. Jacob Hose,
Corpl. James Smith,
Corpl. John Michael,
Corpl. John Brucher,
Corpl. Adam Stonebraker,
Corpl. Bernard Fry,
Drum. Moses McKinsey,
Drum. Joshua McKinsey.

Privates.

Michael Gambler,
James Ashley,
William Pointer,
Jacob Mosen,
Jonathan Hackett,
Henry Straam,
James Duncan,
George Wilhelm,
Melcher Benner,
Fredrik Schwidzer,
Michael Yockley,
Francis Gavin,
Jacob Kline,
John Kebler,
Mathias Keiser,
John Armstrong,
John Etnier,
Jacob Bishop,
Chris. Raver,
Philip Fisher,
Fredk. Locker,
Alex. Taylor,

[136] "History of Western Maryland," Vol. II., p. 1190.

Conrod Hoyle,
John Fliet,
Fredrik. Filter,
Michl. Weaver,
James Forney,
Jacob Beltzhoover,
John Groop,
George Getting,
John Hatfield,
Henry Michael,
Thomas Clifton,
John Craft,
Patrick Fliming,
George Regliman,
Henry Stalter,
Christopr. Waggoner,
John Smith,
Henry Benter,
Philip Smithly,
Jacob Heefner,
John Smithly,
Jacob Haver,
Henry Quier.

A Roll of Capt. Philip Graybell's Company. 1776.

Philip Graybell, Captain,
John Lohra (Lorah), 1st Lieut.,
Christian Myers, 2d Lieut.,
Martin Shugart, Ensign.

Privates.

Ferdinand Lorentz,
Philip Miller,
Henry Millberger (Millburger),
John Freymiller (Frymiller),
James Cappelle (Caple),
John Rick,
Lorentz Kneary,
Jacob Etter,
Peter Baker,
Rudolph Crower,
Adam Rohrbach (Rohhbaugh),
Rowland Smith,
John Shriock (Shryock),
William Rommelsem, Serjt.,
Jacob Striter,
Martin Lantz,
John Hearly (Harley),
Jacob Hoffman,
Charles Zarrell,
Charles Charles,
Joseph Procter,
Joseph Braeter,
Christian Apple,
George Myers (Myer),
Henry Willsdaugh,
George Lighthauser, (Leithauser),
Joseph Smith,
Henry Wilstock,
Henry Rumfield,
George Hyatt, Fifer,
Thomas Kimmel (Kemmell),
Anthony Miller,
Joseph Hook,
Jacob Miley,
Jacob Miller,
Frederick Heller, Serjt.,
Andrew Gorr (Gore),
William Speck, Corpl.,
Henry Hargeroder (Hergeroder),

Wolfgang Ettsperger,
Christopher Regele (Regle),
Frederick Wm. Haller,
John Moore,
Wendell Andrews (Andreas),
Michael Kearshner,
Wolfgang Ettzinger,
John Shaffer,
David Mumma (Muma),
Abraham Frantz,
Frederick Weger,
Henry Hartman,
Wendel Lorentz,
John Hartenstein (Hardenstein),
William Altimus,
Jacob Burke,
Jacob Kintz (Keintz),
George Rittlemyer,
Philip Kautz,
Jacob Myer (Myers),
John Shlife,
John Machenheimer, Sjt.,
George Stauffer, Corpl.,
Gottlieb Danroth,
Lorentz Danroth,
Henry Decker,
Michael Growley,
Frederick Sollers, Corpl.,
Nicholas Frey,
Jacob Kerns (Kearns),
Simon Rinehart (Reinhart),
Mathias Boyer (Byer), Corpl.,
Jacob Ruppert,
Nicholas Keyser,
John Welty,
John Summers,
Michael Huling,
John Eyssell,
William Litzinger, Serjt.,
Fredk. Downey (Tawney),
William Cunius (Cunnius),
James Smith,
Peter Finley, Drummer,
John Smith,
John Bartholomew Deitch (Dych),
William Kraft,
Joseph Williams,
Henry Sprengle,
Henry Smith,
John Stricker, Cadet,
Peter Segman.

A List of Recruits belonging to the German Regiment.

Commanded by Lieut. Colonel Weltner.

White Plains, September 5, 1778.

Names	Time of Service.	Names.	Time of Service.
John Kendrick	3 yrs.	William Johnston	do.
James Champness	War.	John Richards	do.
George Buch	3 yrs.	Albert Hendricks	9 mos.
Adam Mussler	do.	Philip Bates	do.
William Vincent	do.	George Arnold	do.

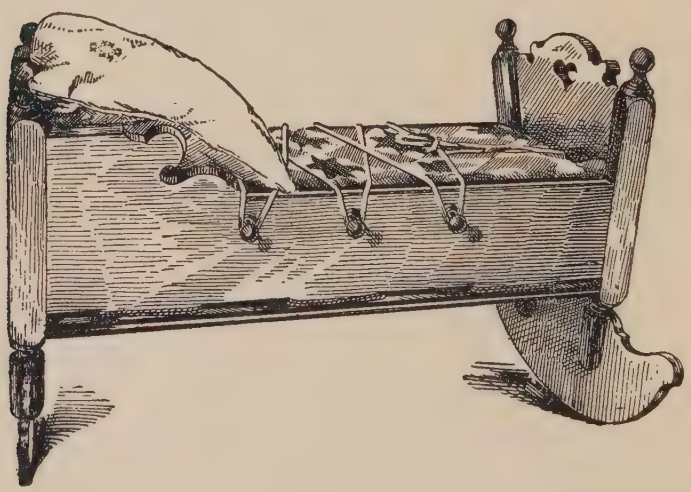
Names.	Time of Service.
Stephen McGrouch	do.
William Neving	War.
James Woolford	3 yrs.
James Stiles	War.
Peter Batolomey	do.
Richard Hazlip	3 yrs.
Robert Porter	do.
William Mummard	War.
Hugh McKoy	do.
John Ammersly	do.
John Stanton	do.
John Bennet	do.
John Roach	do.
Benj. Elliott	do.
Cornelius Quinlin	3 yrs.
Philip Fitzpatrick	9 mos.
Francis Carns	3 yrs.
Charles Jones	War.
Samuel Barts	War.
Mathias Smith	do.
William Rider	do.
William Malinia	do.
Benj. Cole	do.
Timothy Cahill	do.
Robert Smith	do.
Cornelius Vaughan	do.
James Murphy	do.
Christian Castner	do.
William Pope	do.
John Fennell	do.
Jacob Kauffman	3 yrs.
Thomas Proctor	do.
Richard Gaul	do.
John Shively	do.
Thomas Halfpenny	do.
Thomas Hazelwood	War.
Richard Hopkins	9 mos.
Christn. Mumma	do.
William White	War.
James Connoway	3 yrs.

Names.	Time of Service.
Adam Mattrit, fifer	War.
Michael Smith, drummer	War.
John Malady	do.
Thomas Mackall	do.
Charles Fulham	do.
John Hughmore	do.
Thomas Hutchcrofft	do.
John Wade	do.
Alexander Smith	do.
Frederick Shoemaker	do.
James Johnston	do.
Casimir Hill	3 yrs.
Thomas Mahony	do.
John Smadern	do.
Jacob Dolton	do.
John Timhen	do.
Michael Hardman	do.
Henry Ferrins	do.
James Dyer	3 yrs.
Henry Fisher	do.
Jacob Alexander	do.
Christian Kepplinger	9 mos.
Philip Hinkel	do.
Thomas Polehouse	do.
Abraham Miller	do.
Bernhard Ridenhour	do.
Levy Aaron	3 yrs.
Moses McKinsey	do.
Joshua McKinsey	do.
Jacob Moser	do.
Richard O'Quin	War.
James Ashley	do.
James Smith	do.
Thomas Rowlands	9 mos.
George Bantz	do.
On furlough.	

Remarks.
Died 7 July.
Died July 27, '78.
Was a Deserter from Carolina.
Ditto of Col. Chambers.

Name.	Time of Service.	Remarks.
Thomas Holdup	War.	Ditto of Carolina.
Mathias Custgrove	3 yrs.	Deserted.
John Waldon	do.	ditto.
Andrew Shuler	War.	ditto.
John Stout	do.	ditto.
Robert Barnet	do.	Sick, absent.
George Kephard	3 yrs.	Deserted.
Edward Connoly	do.	Taken by the Virginia Artillery.
Frederick Stone	do.	Given up to the Laboratory.
John Weeguel	do.	Left at Frederick Town.

These rolls do not contain the names of all the Germans from Maryland who served in the Revolutionary War. Many of them were to be found in the different regiments of the Maryland Line, some of the companies being made up almost entirely of Germans. But they are so scattered and their names are so changed in the spelling that it is impossible to pick them out.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Service of the Maryland Troops.

TO every call for troops made by the Continental Congress the response from Maryland was prompt and enthusiastic, and, as a rule, that province furnished more men than were called for; indeed, in comparison with the other colonies, Maryland contributed more than her share. But there was very little call for the services of her sons at home, as the fighting was all done in other sections of the country, and the Maryland companies, as soon as they were enrolled, were hurried to the point where they were most needed.

After the evacuation of Boston General Howe conceived the idea of dividing the country into two sections, the northern part from the southern, and with that end in view quickly landed a large force on Long Island for the purpose of capturing New York. The exact number of

men making up the British commander's army is not known, but it was between 20,000 and 27,000. General Washington's force consisted nominally of about 24,000 men, but of these about one-third were invalids and another third were not properly furnished with arms and ammunition. Then, too, this force was scattered over a large section of country, for while Washington knew something of the intention of the British commander, it was not known just where he would strike his blow.

The Maryland battalion had been placed under the command of Colonel William Smallwood and sent to join Washington's army in the vicinity of New York. As other companies were raised they were hurried forward under orders to join Smallwood's command, so that by August 20, 1776, the whole Maryland force was under the command of that officer. They were attached to the brigade commanded by Lord Stirling. The British troops landed on Long Island between the 21st and 27th of August. On the 20th the Maryland troops, with those from Delaware, were ordered to advance. Colonel Smallwood and Lieutenant-Colonel Ware were in New York as members of a court-martial, and although they asked Washington to be allowed to join their command they were not permitted to do so, and the troops went forward under the command of Major Mordecai Gist.

The American army under Putnam was drawn out to occupy the passes and defend the heights between Flatbush and Brooklyn. During the night of the 26th General Clinton, with the van of the British army, silently seized one of the passes and made his way, about daybreak, into the open country in the rear of the Americans. He was immediately followed by another column under Lord Percy. To divert the Americans from their left another division

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.

under Grant marched slowly along the coast, skirmishing with the light parties on the road. Putnam being surrounded Stirling was ordered with two regiments, one of which was the Maryland regiment, to meet the army on the route to the narrows. About break of day he took his position advantageously upon the summit of the hills and was joined by the troops driven in by the advancing columns of the enemy. For several hours a severe cannonade was kept up on both sides and Stirling was repeatedly attacked by the brigades under Cornwallis and Grant, who were as often gallantly repulsed. At length the left wing of the American force having been completely turned by Clinton, and the center under Sullivan broken at the first attack of General De Heister, the position of Stirling's brigade on the right became perilous in the extreme. The passes to the American lines at Brooklyn were in the possession of an overpowering British force; two strong brigades were assailing him in front, and in his rear lay an extensive marsh traversed by a deep and dangerous creek, eighty yards in width at its mouth. Nearer its head, at the Yellow Mills, the only bridge which might have afforded the brigade a safe retreat had been burned by a New England regiment under Colonel Ward in its very hasty retreat, although it was covered by the American batteries. The only hope of safety, therefore, for the gallant troops who still maintained the battle and held the enemy at bay was to surrender, or else to cross the dangerous marsh and creek at its mouth, where no one had ever been known to cross before. Colonel Smallwood, having arrived from New York and learning of the perilous situation of his battalion, applied to General Washington for some regiments to cover their retreat. After a moment's hesitation as to the prudence of risking more troops on a lost battle, unwilling to

abandon these brave men to their fate, he detached him with Captain Thomas' independent company from New England which had just arrived from New York, and two field pieces, to take a position on the banks of the stream and protect the remnant of the brigade in the attempt to cross it.

The scene of the conflict was within a mile of the American lines, and while Smallwood was hastening to their aid Stirling prepared to make a last effort to check the advance of the enemy and give time to a portion of his command to make good its retreat. For this purpose he selected four hundred men from the Maryland battalion, under Major Gist, placed himself at their head, and having ordered all the other troops to make the best of their way through the creek, advanced against Cornwallis' brigade. As they drew out between the two bodies of the enemy it was thought by those looking on from the camp that they were about to surrender, but as with fixed bayonets they rushed to the charge upon the overwhelming force opposed to them fear and sorrow filled every heart, and Washington is said to have wrung his hands and examined: "Good God! What brave fellows I must this day lose."[137]

The following account of the battle of Long Island was sent to the Maryland convention by Colonel Smallwood:

CAMP OF THE MARYLAND REGULARS,
HEAD QUARTERS, October 12th, 1776.

Sir:—Through your hands I must beg leave to address the Hon'ble Convention of Maryland, and must confess not without an apprehension that I have incurred their displeasure, for having omitted writing when on our march from Maryland to New York, and since our arrival here; nor shall I in a pointed manner urge anything in my defence, but leave them at large to condemn

[137] McSherry's "History of Maryland," p. 165.

or excuse me, upon a presumption that should they condemn, they will at least pardon, and judge me perhaps less culpable, when they reflect in the first instance on the exertions necessary to procure baggage wagons, provisions and house-room for 750 men, marched the whole distance in a body, generally from 15 to 20 miles per day, as the several stages made it necessary; and in the latter I trust they will give some indulgence for this neglect, for since our arrival in New York it has been the fate of this Corps to be generally stationed at advanced posts, and to act as a covering party, which must unavoidably expose troops to extraordinary duty and hazard, not to mention the extraordinary vigilance and attention in the commandant of such a party in disposing in the best manner, and having it regularly supplied; for here the commanders of regiments, exclusive of their military duty, are often obliged to exert themselves in the departments of Commissary and Quarter-Master General, and even directors of their regimental hospitals.

Perhaps it may not be improper to give a short detail of occurrences upon our march to Long Island and since that period. The enemy from the 21st to the 27th of August, were landing their troops on the lower part of Long Island, where they pitched a large encampment, and ours and their advanced parties were daily skirmishing at long shot, in which neither party suffered much. On the 26th the Maryland and Delaware troops, which composed part of Lord Stirling's Brigade, were ordered over. Col. Haslet and his Lieut.-Col. Bedford, of the Delaware Battalion, with Lieut.-Col. Ware and myself, were detained on the trial of Lieut.-Col. Ledwitz, and though I waited on General Washington and urged the necessity of attending our troops, yet he refused to discharge us, alleging there was a necessity for the trial's coming on, and that no other field-officers could be then had. After our dismission from the court-martial it was too late to get over, but pushing over early next morning, found our regiments engaged, Lord Stirling having marched them off before day to take possession of the woods and difficult passes between our lines and the enemy's encampment; but the enemy over night had stolen a march on our generals, hav-

ing got through those passes, met and surrounded our troops on the plain grounds within two miles of our lines. Lord Stirling drew up his brigade on an advantageous rising ground, where he was attacked by two brigades in front, headed by the Generals Cornwallis and Grant, and in his rear the enemy's main body stood ready drawn up to support their own parties and intercept the retreat of ours. This excellent disposition and the superior numbers ought to have taught our Generals there was no time to be lost in securing their retreat, which might at least have been affected, had the troops formed into a heavy column and pushed their retreat; but the longer this was delayed it became the more dangerous, as they were then landing more troops in front from the ships. Our brigade kept their ground for several hours, and in general behaved well, having received some heavy fires from the artillery and musketry of the enemy, whom they repulsed several times; but their attacks were neither so lasting nor vigorous as was expected, owing, as it was imagined, to their being certain of making the whole brigade prisoners of war; for by this time they had so secured the passes on the road to our lines (seeing our parties were not supported from thence, which indeed our numbers would not admit of) that there was no possibility of retreating that way. Between the place of action and our lines there lay a large marsh and deep creek, not above 80 yards across at the mouth—(the place of action upon a direct line did not exceed a mile from a part of our lines), towards the head of which creek there was a mill and bridge, across which a certain Col. Ward from New England, who is charged with having acted a bashful part that day, passed over with his regiment, and then burnt them down, though under cover of our cannon, which would have *checked the enemy's* pursuit at any time; other ways, this bridge might have afforded a secure retreat. There then remained no other prospect but to surrender, or attempt to retreat over this marsh and creek at the mouth, where no person had ever been known to cross. In the interim I applied to Gen'l Washington for some regiments to march out to support and cover their retreat, which he urged would be attended with too great a

risk to the party and the lines. He immediately afterwards sent for and ordered me to march down a New England regiment and Capt. Thomas's company, which had just come over from New York, to the mouth of the creek opposite where the brigade was drawn up, and ordered two field-pieces down, to support and cover their retreat should they make a push that way. Soon after our march they began to retreat, and for a small time the fire was very heavy on both sides, till our troops came to the marsh, where they were obliged to break their order and escape as quick as they could to the edge of the creek under a brisk fire, notwithstanding which they brought off 28 prisoners. The enemy taking advantage of a commanding ground, kept up a continued fire from four field-pieces, which were well served and directed, and a heavy column advancing on the marsh must have cut our people off, their guns being wet and muddy, not one of them would have fired, but having drawn up the musketry and disposed of some riflemen conveniently, with orders to fire on them when they came within shot; however, the latter began their fire rather too soon, being at 200 yards' distance, which notwithstanding had the desired effect, for the enemy immediately retreated to the fast land, where they continued parading within 800 yards till our troops were brought over. Most of those who swam over, and others who attempted to cross before the covering party got down, lost their arms and accoutrements in the mud and creek, and some poor fellows their lives, particularly two of the Maryland, two of the Delaware, one of Attley's Pennsylvania, and two Hessian prisoners were drowned. Thomas's men contributed much in bringing over this party. Have enclosed a list of the killed and wounded, amounting to 256, officers inclusive. It has been said the enemy during the action also attacked our lines; but this was a mistake. Not knowing the ground, one of the columns advanced within long shot without knowing they were so near, and upon our artillery and part of the musketry's firing on them they immediately fled. The 28th, during a very hard rain, there was an alarm that the enemy had advanced to attack our lines, which alarmed the troops very much,

but was without foundation. The 29th it was found by a council of war that our fortifications were not tenable, and it was therefore judged expedient that the army should retreat from the Island that night, to effect which, notwithstanding the Maryland troops had but one day's respite, and many other troops had been many days clear of any detail of duty, they were ordered on the advanced post at Fort Putnam, within 250 yards of the enemy's approaches, and joined with two Pennsylvania reg'ts on the left, were to remain and cover the retreat of the army, which was happily completed under cover of a thick fog and a southwest wind, both of which favored our retreat; otherwise the fear, disorder and confusion of some of the Eastern troops must have retarded and discovered our retreat and subjected numbers to be cut off. After remaining two days in New York, our next station was at Harlaem, 9 miles above, at an advance post opposite Montresove's and Bohana's Islands, which in a few days the enemy got possession of without opposition; from the former of which we daily discoursed with them, being within two hundred yards, and only a small creek between. It being judged expedient to abandon New York and retreat to our lines below Fort Washington, the military stores, &c., had been removing some days, when on the 15th Sept. the enemy effected a landing on several parts of the Island below (and it is cutting to say without the least opposition). I have often read and heard of instances of cowardice, but hitherto have had but a faint idea of it till now. I never could have thought human nature subject to such baseness. I could wish the transactions of this day blotted out of the annals of America—nothing appeared but flight, disgrace and confusion. Let it suffice to say, that 60 light infantry upon the first fire put to flight two brigades of the Connecticut troops —wretches who, however strange it may appear, from the Brigadier-General down to the private sentinel, were caned and whip'd by the Generals Washington, Putnam and Mifflin; but even this indignity had no weight—they could not be brought to stand one shot. General Washington expressly sent and drew our regiment from its brigade, to march down towards New York, to cover the

retreat and to defend the baggage, with direction to take possession of an advantageous eminence near the enemy upon the main road, where we remained under arms the best part of the day, till Sergant's Brigade came in with their baggage, who were the last troops coming in, upon which the enemy divided their main body into two columns; one filing off on the North river endeavored to flank and surround us, the other advancing in good order slowly up the main road upon us; we had orders to retreat in good order, which was done, our Corps getting within the lines after dusk. The next day about 1000 of them made an attempt upon our lines, and were first attacked by the brave Col. Knolton of New England, who lost his life in the action, and the 3d Virginia regiment, who were immediately joined by three Independent Companies, under Major Price, and some part of the Maryland flying-camp, who drove them back to their lines, it is supposed with the loss of 400 men killed and wounded. Our party had about 100 killed and wounded, of the former only 15. Since which we have been viewing each other at a distance, and strongly entrenching till the 9th October, when three of their men-of-war passed up the North river above King's Bridge, under a very heavy cannonade from our Batteries, which has effectually cut off our communication by water with Albany. I must now break off abruptly, being ordered to march up above King's Bridge, the enemy having landed 6000 men from the Sound on Frog's Point. 50 ships are got up there, landing more troops—there is nothing left but to fight them. An engagement is generally expected and soon. Have enclosed a copy of a general return of the battalion and Veazy's company, being all the troops I marched from Maryland, with the accoutrements and camp equipage taken in Philadelphia, to be rendered the Congress, together with our general weekly return. The Independents are now about their returns of arms, accoutrements and camp equipage brought by them from Maryland, but not having time to finish, they must hereafter be returned to Council of Safety. We have upwards of three hundred officers and soldiers of the Maryland regulars very sick, which you will observe by the return; and

I am sorry to say, it's shocking to humanity to have so many of them; this must hurt the service upon the new enlistments. Major Price and Gist and Cap'n Stone are in the Jerseys very sick, and Col. Ware and myself are very unfit for duty, though we attend it; many more officers are very unwell. I am very respectfully,

Your obedient and very h'ble servant,

W. SMALLWOOD.[138]

The loss sustained by the Maryland troops in the battle of Long Island was unusually heavy. The killed and wounded numbered 256. Captain Veazy and Lieutenant Butlar were killed, and among the prisoners were Captain Daniel Bowie, Lieutenant William Steret, William Ridgely, Hatch Dent, Walter Muse, Samuel Wright, Joseph Butler, Edward Praul, Edward Decourcy and Ensigns James Fernandes and William Courts. The conduct of the battle of Long Island has called forth a great deal of unfavorable comment, taking in both officers and privates, but the Maryland troops taking part in it have received nothing but praise for their valor, in marked contrast to that of some of the New Englanders. McSherry says[139] "The people of Long Island point out to strangers the spot where half of the Maryland battalion stemmed the advance of the whole left wing of the British army when no other troops were left on the field," and Colonel Daniel Brodhead wrote:[140] "No troops could behave better than the Southern, for though they seldom engaged less than five to one, they frequently repulsed the Enemy with great Slaughter."

At White Plains the Marylanders sustained their reputation and were in the thickest of the fight, where their loss was over one hundred men. The Maryland battalion had

[138] Scharf's "Chronicles of Baltimore," p. 148 et seq.

[139] "History of Maryland," p. 166.

[140] Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, Vol. V., p. 22.

become veterans. In three months it had fought three battles, and it was the first organization to use the bayonet against the British regulars. At the defence of Fort Washington they held their own against a vastly superior force of Hessians. Washington had posted his army in three divisions, Colonel Rawlings with his Maryland regiment being stationed on a hill to the north of the lines. They were attacked by General Knyphausen with five thousand men. At the same time another division of the enemy moved against Colonel Cadwallader, of the Pennsylvania troops, who commanded within the lines, and a third division crossed the East river in boats and landed within the lines. The superiority of the British force drove Cadwallader's men back into the fort, but the Marylanders, under Rawlings, bravely maintained their position. "Posted among the trees, his riflemen poured in upon the advancing column a murderous fire which they in vain endeavored to sustain. The Hessians broke and retired. Again they were brought to the attack and again repulsed with dreadful slaughter. The Maryland riflemen remembered the destruction of their brethren of the battalion by the Hessians at Yellow Mills and did not forget to avenge it. But what could a single battalion of riflemen, even of such matchless skill and courage, effect when opposed to five thousand men armed with the bayonet? Had every other post been defended as theirs was, victory would have crowned the American arms that day. But all the other troops were already in full retreat. The three divisions of the enemy were about to fall upon their rear while they contended with a force in front of them far greater than their own. At length, by sheer fighting and power of numbers, the Hessians reached the summit of the hill. Rawlings, perceiving the danger to his rear and learning

of the retreat of the Pennsylvanians, abandoned his position, as no longer tenable, and retired under the guns of the fort."[141]

As Colonel Magaw was unable to hold the fort against such an overwhelming force he was compelled to surrender, and twenty-six hundred men became prisoners. The British lost nearly twelve hundred men, killed and wounded, more than half of this loss being sustained by the Hessians in their attack upon Rawlings' Maryland and Virginia riflemen.

A detailed account of all the battles in which the Maryland troops took part cannot be given here, but wherever they were called upon—at Trenton, at Princeton, at Monmouth, on the banks of the Brandywine, at Germantown—they were always to be found at the forefront, and acquitted themselves with glory. Many had been killed and many more were disabled on account of wounds and sickness. "In each succeeding action," says McSherry, "the Maryland troops had been further reduced until Smallwood's battalion and the seven independent companies, which had entered the campaign fourteen hundred strong, had been worn down to a mere captain's command." But new men filled up the ranks and until the end of the war the Marylanders continued to show their bravery on many a hard fought field, a bravery that had been bred in them through their arduous life on the frontiers of the province.

One of the matters which caused considerable trouble among the officers of the Maryland troops, as it did among those of other states, was the determination of the rank of the officers. When it became apparent that there would be a war between Great Britain and the colonies, military com-

[141] McSherry's "History of Maryland," p. 171.

panies were formed in all parts of the country, officers were selected, and the companies were drilled in military tactics, so that by the time that hostilities actually broke out there were a number of these companies ready to march at a moment's notice, and many of them did so and took an active part in the early campaigns. Later on when the army was being reorganized under the authority of the Continental Congress, the officers of these companies naturally expected to be among the first ones promoted on account of their having been early in the field. In many instances these officers were disappointed in their expectation and saw promoted over them officers who had entered the service after they had. This naturally caused considerable resentment and protests were made to those in authority. Promises were made that the matter would be adjusted, but progress in this direction was slow and the feeling among those who felt that they were being slighted became so intense that something had to be done. Early in 1779 the legislature of Maryland adopted resolutions requesting General Washington to settle this question of rank. Upon receipt of these resolutions Washington wrote to Governor Johnson as follows.[142]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK, 8th April 1779.

Sir

I have been honoured with yours of the 26th March inclosing a Resolve of the House of Delegates for the incorporation of parts of the German Battalion and Rifle Corps into a Regiment, and another for forwarding the recruiting service. I also at the same time received from the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Delegates two Resolves—one empowering me to fully settle the Rank of the Officers of the Maryland line, the other allowing half pay for life to such Officers as shall remain in the service during the war.

[142] Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXI., p. 339.

By an allotment of the quota of troops to be raised by said State, made by Congress the 26th Febr 1778, the German Battalion was wholly attached to the State of Maryland and considered as her Regt since which it hath done duty in that line. Had not this been the case, the incorporation of such parts of that Regiment and Rifle Corps as are deemed properly to belong to Maryland would still be attended with the greatest inconveniences particularly in regard to recruiting the Ranks of the Officers, Colo Rawlins and most of his being elder than Colo Weltner and those of the German would supersede them upon incorporation.

Indeed Colo Weltner would not only be superseded, but he must be supernumerary. In short, the difficulties attending the measure recommended are more than can be conceived, and I am convinced by experience that it cannot be carried into execution without totally deranging the German Regiment.

In January last Congress, to make some provision for Colo Rawlins and his Officers, resolved that he should increase his remaining men (who are not more than 70 or 80) to three Companies to be commanded by him as a separate Corps. The times of most of the old men are near expiring and whether they will reinlist I cannot say.

I entertain a very high opinion of Colo Rawlins and his Officers, and have interested myself much in their behalf. It is to be regretted that they were not provided for in the States to which they belong, when the Army was new modelled in 1776, but as they were not, after a variety of plans had been thought of that above mentioned was esteemed the most eligible, and indeed the only one that could be accepted, as the introduction of those Gentlemen into the line would have been impracticable.

I have, agreeable to the powers invested in me, appointed a Board of General Officers to take into consideration and report to me the rank of the Maryland line. I do not imagine that it will be possible to give general satisfaction, but I am convinced that the Gentlemen who have the Business in hand will pay the strictest attention to the claims of all parties, and give the most disinterested decision.

Whatever the decision may be, I hope that it may be considered by the State as definitive, and that they will not in future pay any further regard to the importunities of those who may be discontented with the arrangemenet which is about to be made.

The matter was one that was not easily arranged and after several Boards of Officers had worked on it Washington wrote to Governor Johnson, on May 28, 1779, giving the rank of the different officers as it had finally been agreed upon. Instead of allaying the feeling of resentment among the officers the report determining their rank increased it, and a number of them promptly resigned. That their resignations were not due to any lack of patriotism, but to a feeling that they were not being treated properly, is shown by the actions of one Pennsylvania-German. Benjamin Spyker, Jr., a native of Berks county, Pennsylvania, who had been teaching school in Maryland, enlisted a company early in 1776, and upon the organization of the Maryland Line his company became a part of the Seventh Regiment. When the question of the rank of the officers had been finally settled he resigned his commission and went back to his home in Berks county, where he enlisted as a private in Captain John Anspach's company, in the Berks county militia.[143]

But the settlement of the question of the rank of the officers did not end the matter. On June 17, 1779, the principal officers of the Maryland regiments in the field addressed the following petition to the governor and the members of the Senate and House of Delegates:[144]

We beg leave, most respectfully, to represent to your Excellency and Honors that the several provisions hitherto made by the Legis-

[144] Scharf's "History of Maryland," Vol. II., p. 352.
[143] Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. V., p. 185.

lature for the subsistence of her officers, though liberal at the time of being voted, have by no means been adequate to the exigent expenses of their respective stations.

That a zeal for the public cause, and an ardent desire to promote the happiness and interest of their country have, notwithstanding, induced them to continue in the service to the very great prejudice of their private fortunes; many of which being now entirely exhausted, we find ourselves under the painful and humiliating necessity of soliciting your Excellency and Honors for a further support, and the disposition of a generous and grateful people to reward the services of the faithful sons and servants of the State.

The very great depreciation of the Continental Currency renders it absolutely necessary that some further provision should be made for our support to enable us to continue a service in which nothing but a love of Liberty and the rights of mankind can retain us; and we trust that it will be such as will support with decency and dignity the respective ranks which our country has done us the honor to confer on us.

The inconveniences and difficulties we suffer are various and grievous, but we think it unnecessary to be particular or to point out a mode of redress as the examples of the State of Pennsylvania and others in providing for their officers and soldiers are the most eligible and ample we desire or expect.

We beg leave to assure your Excellency and Honors with the utmost candor and sincerity, that while we assiduously exert our best abilities in a hardy opposition to the enemies of our country, we earnestly wish the arrival of that period when our military services will be no longer requisite, and, being at liberty individually to procure a peaceful competence, we may again be numbered among the happy citizens of the Free and Independent State of Maryland.

We have the honor to be with great respect,

Your Excellency and Honors most obedient humble servants.

Knowing the above representation to be a true state of the

grievances of the officers in the Maryland line, on their behalf, and in justice to them, I have subscribed to it. W. SMALLWOOD.

John Carvil Hall, colonel 4th regiment;
Otho H. Williams, colonel 6th regiment;
John Gunby, colonel;
R. Adams, lieutenant-colonel 7th regiment;
Thomas Wolford, lieutenant-colonel 2d regiment;
John E. Howard, lieutenant-colonel;
John Stewart, major;
John Dean, major;
Archibald Anderson, major;
Henry Hardman, captain;
A. Grosh, captain;
Thomas Lansdale, captain;
Harry Dobson, captain;
William D. Beale, captain;
Jonathan Sellman, captain;
Alexander Trueman, captain;
Joseph Marbury, captain;
Jacob Brice, captain;
John Smith, captain;
William Wilmott, captain;
Alexander Roxburgh, captain;
Henry Gaither, captain;
Edward Oldman, captain;
Richard Anderson, captain;
Edward Pratt, captain;
George Hamilton, captain;
Levin Handy, captain;
Walker Mun, captain;
John James,
John Carr,
Nicholas Gassaway,
Charles Smith,
R. N. Walker,
Lloyd Beall,
Richard McAlister,
James Brain,
Ed. Edgerly,
John J. Jacob,
James Ewing,
Wm. Lamar,
Wm. Woolford,
Charles Beaven,
John Hartshorn,
John M. Hamilton,
James Gould,
J. J. Skinner,
Richard Donovan,
John Gibson,
T. B. Hugan,
Gassaway Watkins,
W. Adams,
George Jacobs,
John Mitchell,
Philip Theid,
Edward Moran,
Thomas Price, engineer;
Henry Baldwin, quarter-master and engineer;
John Gassaway, lieutenant 2d Maryland regiment;
Samuel Hanson, ensign;

James Woolford Gray, captain;
John Gale, captain;
John Sprigg Belt, captain;
John Smith, captain;
W. Beatty, captain;
J. C. Jones, captain;
John Davidson, captain;
John Jordan, captain;
James Somervell, captain-lieutenant;
Benjamin Price, captain-lieutenant;
Frederick Foird, captain-lieutenant;
George Armstrong, captain-lieutenant; and lieutenants;
Francis Reveley,
Nicholas Mamges,
Samuel Farmer,
Osborn Williams,
Isaac Duall,
Hezekiah Ford, ensign;
John Dorsey, surgeon 5th Maryland Regiment;
Thomas Parran, surgeon 6th regiment;
William Kiltz, assistant surgeon 5th regiment;
John Hamilton, paymaster and lieutenant, 4th Maryland regiment.
Richard Pindell, surgeon, 4th Maryland regiment;
Christopher Richmond, paymaster and lieutenant;
Benjamin Garnett, engineer;
James Woulds, adjutant;
W. Warfield, assistant surgeon, 6th regiment;
Robert Denny, engineer and paymaster, 7th regiment.

The legislature met on July 22, and after considering the address of the officers passed an act "relating to the officers and soldiers of this State in the American army." This measure provided that as the officers were bearing the heaviest burdens of the war with a pay that scarcely supplied them with the necessaries of life, and as most of them were now so reduced in means as to be dependent upon the gratuity of the state, each of the commissioned and staff officers of the Maryland Line and of the state troops in the Continental army was to be allowed every year during the war, at a fixed price, "four good shirts and a complete uniform, suitable to his station." They were also to be allowed tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, rum, soap and

tobacco, in certain portions, to be dealt out by the day and month. During that year, in lieu of these, they were to receive $2,000. The non-commissioned officers and privates were also to be given an allowance in rum and tobacco, which, for the year 1779, was commuted at £20 currency for each man. The act also provided that those who should enlist in a Maryland regiment to serve for three years, or during the war, should receive, in addition to the bounties provided by congress and the state, a hat, a pair of shoes, stockings and overalls.

CHAPTER XIX.

Forwarding the Cause at Home.

WHILE the Maryland troops were upholding the honor of the State in the field, those at home, the non-combatants, were doing their part to forward the patriotic cause. A feeling of patriotism was manifested everywhere among all classes, and in many instances those who could not very well afford it sacrificed the necessaries of life to contribute towards the support of the troops in the field. Everything that was possible was done to assist in the struggle and privations were endured by those at home as well as by those in camp. Patriotic sentiments were expressed on all sides. Scharf[145] gives a copy of a letter supposed to

[145] "History of Western Maryland," Vol. II., p. 1035. The letter is as follows:

To Capt. William Heyser, at the American Camp, Philadelphia.

Dear Father

Through the mercies of almighty God, I my Mamma, my brother and

have been written to Captain William Heyser by his son, aged nine years. While the sentiments expressed in the letter were no doubt those entertained by almost everyone yet the letter itself is scarcely one such as would be written by a nine-year old boy.

Many of the German settlers in western Maryland had conscientious scruples against war and these people were averse to enlisting in the army and taking an active part in the war, but they contributed of their means, many of them liberally. Military stores, gunpowder, guns and cannon, were manufactured at a number of places, and supplies of various kinds also contributed. At a meeting of the Committee of Observation for that part of Frederick county which is now Washington county, held at Elizabeth Town (Hagerstown) on April 8, 1776, the following communication was received from the Council of Safety:

Sisters are well, in hopes these may find you enjoying these Felicities, which tend to happiness in life, and everlasting Happiness in Eternity your long absence and great distance is the only matter of our trouble, but our sincere Prayers, is for your Welfare and Prosperity, begging that God may prosper you, and your united Brethren, in your laudable undertaking, and in the end crown you with the laurels of a Complete victory, over the Enemies of the inestimable Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of distressed America, and hand them down inviolate, to the latest Posterity. My Dear father, my greatest Grief is, that I am incapable of the military Service, that I might enjoy the company of so loving a father, and serve my country in so glorious a cause, but tho' absent from you yet my constant prayer is for your Safety, in the Hour of danger, your complete victory, over the Enemies, of the united States of America, and your Safe Restoration to the government of your family. I and my brother Jacob Continue at School, and hope to give a full Satisfaction, to our parents, and friends in our regular conduct, and Progress in learning, my Mamma, my brother and Sister do join me in their Prayers and well wishes for you.

I am Dr. Father your most dutiful and obedt Son,

Hagers Town
October 12th
1776

WILLIAM HEYSER

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY, ANNAPOLIS,
March 23, 1776.

Gentlemen:—The great difficulty we find in providing blankets for the regular forces raised for the defence of this province obliges us to apply to the committee of observation for the several counties and districts, earnestly requesting that they would use their endeavors to procure from the housekeepers in their respective counties and districts all the blankets or rugs that they can with any convenience spare, for which the council will pay such prices as the committees shall agree on, as well as any expense that may arise in collecting them together; and when you have procured any quantity, you will send them to Annapolis, to Col. Smallwood, or, in his absence, to the commanding officer on this station, who will receive the same, and give orders on the council for the payment thereof.

We hope that the friends to our cause in the county will contribute everything in their power to the comfortable subsistence of the soldiery in this respect; it will be an act of great humanity, and render an essential service to the public.

We are, Gentlemen, your most O^bt^ servants. By order.

DANIEL, of ST. THOS., JENNIFER, P.

The proceedings of the Committee then go on to state[146]

In consequence of the preceding letter from the honorable the council of safety of this province, we have, agreeably to their request, furnished them with what quantity of blankets and rugs the inhabitants of this district can with any convenience spare, and a price estimated on them by this committee as follows:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
William Baird, 1 blanket...	0	17	6	John Ingram, 1 blanket....	0	15	0
John Parks, 1 rug.....	0	12	0	Adam Grimer, 2 blankets	1	18	0
Andrew Rench, 1 blanket...	0	12	6	Wm. Douglass, 1 blanket...	0	10	0
Simon Myer, " ...	0	15	0	Matthias Need, 1 blanket...	0	12	0

[146] Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," Vol. I., p. 134.

Philip Rymeby,	3	coverlets..	2 10 0	Michael Ott,	1	blanket.....	0 5 0
Geo. Fry,	1	blanket.....	0 7 6	John Feagen,	"	...	0 16 0
Felty Safety,	1	blanket.....	0 5 0	"	"	" ...	0 16 0
Jacob Lazear,	"	...	0 12 6	Jerentiah Wells,	"	...	0 10 0
Joseph Birely,	1	coverlet...	1 8 0	Joseph Rench,	"	...	0 11 0
"	"	1 blanket...	0 5 0	Zach'h Spires,	"	...	0 10 0
Richard Davis,	"	...	0 10 0	Matthias Nead,	"	...	0 10 0
Thos. Prather,	"	...	0 18 0	Henry Startzman,	"	...	0 12 0
Ch'n Rhorer,	"	...	0 10 0	George Swingly,	"	...	0 16 0
Leonard Shryock,	"	...	0 12 0	George Hoffman,	"	...	0 7 6
Robert Guthrie,	1	coverlet..	1 10 0	Jacob Brumbaugh,	"	...21	3 0
Christian Miller,	"	...	1 10 0	Michael Miller,	"	...42	17 0
Jacob Prunk,	1	blanket....	0 14 0	George Hartte,	"	...	0 18 0
Jacob Rohrer,	"	...	0 12 6	John Roltrer,	"	...20	10 0
Ellen Miller,	"	...	0 9 0	Christ'r Burgard,	"	...	0 12 0
Chas. Swearingen,	1	blanket.	0 10 0	Jacob Good,	1	rug.....	0 16 0
Ch'n Eversole,	"	...	0 9 0	John Rench,	1	blanket.....	0 12 0
"	"	1 quilt.....	0 15 0	John Stull,	"	...	0 14 0
"	"	1 coverlet...	0 17 6				

Received of Conrad Sheitz forty-four blankets for the use of this province, which were delivered him by the committee of Observation of Elizabeth Town district.

Received by me this 12th day of April, 1776.

GEO. STRICKER.

While there were some of the inhabitants of Maryland who remained loyal to Great Britain, the majority of them, particularly among the Germans, were on the side of the patriots, and they were ever on the alert to detect any treasonable designs on the part of the Tories, and owing to their vigilance they were frequently able to frustrate well-laid plans which might have resulted seriously for the American cause. One of the most notable of these was that concocted by Dr. John Connolly, which was frustrated by some of the Germans of western Maryland. Connolly was a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, where he became a physician. After taking part in the French and

Indian War, he spent some time with various Indian tribes, accompanying them on long marches into unexplored territory, and finally settled at Pittsburgh. When the Revolutionary War began he remained loyal to Great Britain. While at Pittsburgh he met Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, and when the latter was making strenuous efforts to help the royal cause he found an able ally in Connolly. A plan was formed by which Connolly, through his intimacy with the Indians, was to incite them to a war upon the frontiers, and to raise an army in Canada and the western settlements. Dunmore sent Connolly to General Gage, who commanded at Boston, with the following proposals:

Proposals for raising an Army to the Westward, and for effectually obstructing a Communication between the Southern and Northern Governments.

As I have, by direction from his Excellency Lord Dunmore, prepared the Ohio Indians to act in concert with me against his Majesty's enemies in that quarter, and have also dispatched intelligence to the different officers of the militia on the frontiers of Augusta County, in Virginia, giving them Lord Dunmore's assurances that such of them as shall hereafter evince their loyalty to his Majesty by putting themselves under my command, when I shall appear among them with proper authority for that purpose, of a confirmation of titles to their lands, and the quantity of three hundred acres to all who should take up arms in the support of the constitution, when the present rebellion subsided, I will undertake to penetrate through Virginia, and join his Excellency Lord Dunmore at Alexandria early next spring, on the following conditions and authority:

1st. That your Excellency will give me a commission to act as Major-commandant of such troops as I may raise and embody on the frontiers, with a power to command to the westward and

employ such serviceable French and English partisans as I can employ by pecuniary rewards or otherwise.

2d. That your Excellency will give orders to Captain Lord on the Illinois to remove himself, with the garrison under his command, from Fort Gage to Detroit, by the Aubache, bringing with him all the artillery, stores, &c., &c., to facilitate which undertaking he is to have authority to hire boats, horses, Frenchmen, Indians, &c., &c., to proceed with all possible expedition on that route, as the weather may occasionally permit, and to put himself under my command on his arrival at Detroit.

3d. That the commissary at Detroit shall be empowered to furnish such provision as I may judge necessary for the good of the service, and that the commanding officer shall be instructed to give every possible assistance in encouraging the French and Indians of that settlement to join me.

4th. That an officer of artillery be immediately sent with me to pursue such route as I may find most expedient to gain Detroit, with orders to have such pieces of light ordnance as may be thought requisite for the demolishing of Fort Dunmore and Fort Fincastle, if resistance should be made by the rebels in possession of those garrisons.

5th. That your Excellency will empower me to make such reasonable presents to the Indian chiefs and others as may urge them to act with vigor in the execution of my orders.

6th. That your Excellency will send to Lord Dunmore such arms as may be spared, in order to equip such persons as may be willing to serve his Majesty at our junction, in the vicinity of Alexandria, &c., &c. If your Excellency judges it expedient for the good of the service to furnish me with the authority and other requisites I have mentioned, I shall embrace the earliest opportunity of setting off for Canada, and shall immediately dispatch Lord Dunmore's armed schooner, which now awaits my commands, with an account of what your Excellency has done, and that I shall be ready, if practicable, to join your Lordship by the twentieth of April, at Alexandria, where the troops under my

command may fortify themselves under the cover of the men of war on that station.

If, on the contrary, your Excellency should not approve of what I propose, you will be good enough to immediately honor me with your dispatches to the Earl of Dunmore, that I may return as early as possible.

General Gage approved the plan, and in October, 1775, Connolly again joined Dunmore, who in accordance with instructions from General Gage, gave him a commission as lieutenant-colonel commandant of the Queen's Royal Rangers, to be raised "in the back parts and Canada." On November 13th Connolly left Dunmore and started for Detroit. He was accompanied by Dr. John Smith and Allan Cameron. The former was a Scotchman who lived on Port Tobacco creek, in Charles county, Maryland. Connolly had induced him to accept a commission as surgeon in the proposed expedition. Cameron was also a Scotchman who had left home on account of a duel and had come to Virginia with the intention of purchasing lands in that colony. He served for some time as deputy Indian agent in South Carolina, but having suffered much abuse there for his loyalty to the crown, and having gained some notoriety on account of a plan to incite the Creek and Cherokee Indians to fall on the colonists,[147] he readily engaged to join the party, being promised a commission as lieutenant.

The party set out in a flat-bottomed boat, intending to go up the Potomac and disembark near the home of Dr. Smith and from that point proceed on horseback. A storm drove them into the St. Mary's river and from that point they went forward on horseback. They had almost

[147] Steiner, "Western Maryland in the Revolution," p. 40.

passed the frontier when, on November 19, they stopped at a tavern about five miles from Hagerstown. Here Connolly was recognized and as information concerning his plans had been received a day or two before through a letter written by Connolly to a friend in Pittsburgh, the party was placed under arrest. They were taken to Hagerstown and the next day were brought before the Committee of Observation who ordered them sent to the Committee of Safety. They were taken to Frederick where their baggage was thoroughly examined and incriminating papers were found, although Connolly's commission and other important papers had been concealed in hollow pillion sticks and thus escaped detection and were later destroyed by Connolly's servant. Smith made his escape but was recaptured, and on the order of John Hancock, president of Congress, the three prisoners were sent to Philadelphia. Connolly, in a "Narrative of the Transactions, Imprisonment and sufferings of John Connolly, an American Loyalist and Lieutenant-Colonel in His Majesty's Service,"[148] has left an account of this expedition, while Smith tells of some of the incidents attending their capture.[149] He says that when they were taken to Frederick two musicians, with drum and fife, marched ahead of them playing the rogue's march. On reaching Frederick they were taken before "a committee which consisted of a tailor, a leather breeches maker, a shoemaker, a gingerbread maker, a butcher, and two tavern keepers. The majority were Germans and I was subjected to a very remarkable hearing, as follows:

"One said 'You infernal rascal, how darsht you make

[148] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. XII., pp. 310, 407; Vol. XIII., pp. 61, 153, 281.

[149] "A Tour through the U. S. of America," by J. D. F. Smyth.

an exshkape from this honorable committee?' 'Der fluchter Dyvel,' cried another, 'how can you shtand so shtyff for king Shorsh akainst dis koontry. 'Sacrament,' yelled another, 'dis committee will let Shorsh know how to behave himself,' and the butcher exclaimed, 'I would kill all the English tieves, as soon as ich would kill an ox or a cow.'"

While there were a number of Tories among the citizens of Maryland there were very few to be found among the German settlers. These, as a rule, were ardent patriots, and there were few instances where Germans were arrested as Tories. There was, however, one notable exception.

In 1781 another plan was formed by the British and Tories for dividing the northern colonies from the southern. According to this scheme Cornwallis was to march inland from the Chesapeake and meet the bands of Tories which were to be raised and armed in the interior. In maturing their plans it was arranged that a disguised British officer was to meet a Tory at a point in Frederick county to put him in possession of all the plans of the conspirators. But it so happened that an American officer was at the appointed place and the Tory's papers fell into his hands, revealing the plot and the names of the conspirators. The latter were arrested. Among them were a number of Germans: Peter Sueman, Nicholas Andrews, John George Graves, Yost Plecker, Adam Graves, Henry Shett, and Casper Fritchie. On July 25 these seven were placed on trial before a special court at Frederick, consisting of Alexander Contee Hanson, afterwards Chancellor of the State, Col. James Johnson and Upton Sheredine. The seven were found guilty of high treason in "enlisting men for the service of the king of Great Britain and administering an oath to them to bear true allegiance to the said king, and

to obey his officers when called upon." Judge Hanson then sentenced the men as follows:[150]

Peter Sueman, Nicholas Andrews, John George Graves, Yost Plecker, Adam Graves, Henry Shett, Casper Fritchie, attend. It has been suggested to the court that notwithstanding your guilt has been ascertained by an impartial jury, you consider the proceedings against you nothing more than solemn mockery, and have adopted a vain idea, propagated by the enemies of this country, that she dare not punish her unnatural subjects for engaging in the service of Great Britain. From the strange insensibility you have heretofore discovered, I was indeed led to conclude that you were under a delusion, which might prove fatal to your prospects of happiness hereafter. I think it is my duty, therefore, to explain to you your real situation. The crime you have been convicted of, upon the fullest and clearest testimony, is of such a nature that you cannot, ought not, to look for a pardon. Had it pleased heaven to permit the full execution of your unnatural designs, the miseries to be experienced by your devoted country would have been dreadful even in the contemplation. The ends of public justice, the dictates of policy, and the feelings of humanity all require that you should exhibit an awful example to your fellow-subjects, and the dignity of the State, with everything that can interest the heart of man, calls aloud for your punishment. If the consideration of approaching fate can inspire proper sentiments, you will pour forth your thanks to that watchful Providence which has arrested you at an early date of your guilt. And you will employ the short time you have to live in endeavoring, by a sincere penitence, to obtain pardon from the Almighty Being, who is to sit in judgment upon you, upon me, and all mankind.

I must now perform the terrible task of denouncing the terrible punishment ordained for high treason.

You, Peter Sueman, Nicholas Andrews, Yost Plecker, Adam Graves, Henry Shett, John George Graves, and Casper Fritchie,

[150] Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," Vol. I., p. 143.

and each of you, attend to your sentence. You shall be carried to the gaol of Fredericktown, and be hanged therein; you shall be cut down to the earth alive, and your entrails shall be taken out and burnt while you are yet alive, your heads shall be cut off, your body shall be divided into four parts, and your heads and quarters shall be placed where his excellency the Governor shall appoint. So Lord have mercy upon your poor souls.

Four of these men were pardoned, the other three being executed in the court-house yard at Frederick. One of those executed was Casper Fritchie, the father of John Casper Fritchie, who was the husband of Barbara Fritchie, the heroine of Whittier's poem.[151]

With the close of the Revolutionary War the inhabitants of the western part of Maryland settled down to a peaceful life, turning all their energies to the development of the country. The population increased rapidly. Many of the Hessians who had come to fight the colonists took up land in that section and became their neighbors. Many emigrants came to Maryland from Germany without first stopping in Pennsylvania, so that the additions to the population lost the distinctively Pennsylvania-German type, but the influence of the first settlers was never lost.

Two hundred years have passed since the first Germans from Pennsylvania made their way through the trackless wilderness of Maryland: two hundred years which have seen that wilderness blossom into one of the fairest gardens

[151] Barbara Fritchie was a Pennsylvania-German. She was born in Lancaster, Pa., December 3, 1766, the daughter of Nicholas and Catherine Hauer. Although it has been conclusively shown that there is no foundation in fact for the incident given in Whittier's poem, yet, like the equally mythical story of Betsy Ross and the flag, the tale will no doubt continue to find believers in its authenticity.

on earth. Through the trials and sufferings of those early pioneers the foundations were laid upon which has arisen an empire, than which no more enduring monument to their memory could be erected. Their descendants have continued the work so well begun and have spread out and helped to conquer new fields and make them add to the wealth of the nation. To the south and west this stream of emigration made its way unceasingly. It would be impossible to particularize, but there is no part of the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf to the frozen borders on the north, where the descendants of those early German settlers of Maryland cannot be found. Many of them have set their mark high in the record of the world's progress: in science, in art, in mechanics, in whatever makes for the betterment of mankind, and in reaching high honors themselves have honored the memory of those brave men and women who, leaving behind them all the comforts of civilization, and taking their lives in their hands, carved out a home in the forests of the western continent.

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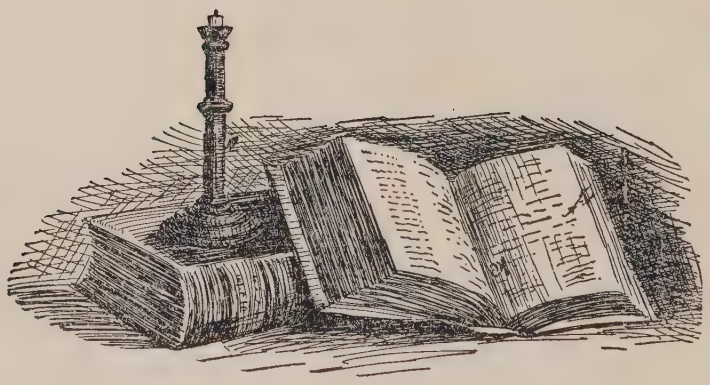

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